MEMOIRS

OF

The DUKE of SULLY.

Duke of Sully. Great Master of the Ordnance; Marshal of France &c.
born at Rosny in 1559. died at his Seat of Villebon in the County of Chartrain Dec. 21. 1641.

Wm. Duff 3 Dec. 1794

MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH, And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of HENRY THE GREAT.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

VOL. I.

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BODLEIAN
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25 SEP 1956
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To the High, Puiſſant, and Moſt Noble Prince,

THOMAS HOLLES-PELHAM,

Duke of Newcaſtle, Marquis and Earl of Clare, Viſcount Haughton, and Baron Pelham of Laughton, AND BARONET,

One of His Majeſty's Privy-Council, Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum for the Counties of Middleſex, Weſtminſter, and Nottingham; Steward, Keeper, and Guardian of the Foreſt of Sherwood, and Park of Folewood, in the County of Nottingham; One of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe, Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of His Majeſty's Treaſury, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, LL.D. and F.R.S.

MY LORD,

AUTHORS are often unfortunate in the choice of their Patrons: and Works are devoted, with great ſolemnity, to the uſe of thoſe who cannot uſe them, and the pleaſure of thoſe whom they cannot pleaſe.

THAT I have avoided this impropriety, in dedicating to your GRACE theſe MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF SULLY, a whole Nation, whoſe affairs you have ſo long and ſo happily directed, will bear me witneſs: But then, I can claim no praiſe from my own diſcernment, becauſe I only echo the Voice of the People, and addreſs myſelf where that leads me.

DEDICATION.

THOUGH my ſex and manner of life makes me a ſtranger to public affairs; I yet diſcover of myſelf, that the Hiſtory I have tranſlated, is not only intereſting but important: and that the original author of it was not only well verſed in all the prime operations of the government, but that he ſaved a Nation, by bringing method and order into every branch of her revenues, and adminiſtring the whole with the moſt accurate œconomy.

A BOOK, thus filled with political wiſdom, could be fitly offered only to Him, who lays out his whole time and attention, in labours of the ſame tendency; and for the ſervice of a more free, and therefore a nobler People.

THAT PROVIDENCE may co-operate with your endeavours; and that your GRACE may ſteer not only ſafely, but triumphantly, through every difficulty of the preſent conjuncture, are wiſhes ſo natural to all true Britons, that they cannot be thought improper even from a woman, and in this public manner. She is, with the profoundeſt Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your GRACE's moſt Obedient,

London, Sept. 5, 1755.

and moſt Humble Servant,

CHARLOTTE LENNOX.

PREFACE

TO THE

FRENCH EDITION.

AS in the judgment of good critics and lovers of literature, THE MEMOIRS OF SULLY have been always ranked amongſt our beſt books, I have no need to enter here into a diſquiſition which will be of little uſe to thoſe who are acquainted with the work.

To give thoſe an idea of this performance who have never read it, it will be ſufficient to tell them, that it contains a hiſtory of whatever has paſſed from the peace in 1570, to the firſt year of Lewis XIII. during a ſpace of forty years, which is a time that has ſupplied the moſt copious ſubjects to the hiſtorians of France; and that it treats of the reign, or, to ſpeak more properly, almoſt of the whole life, of Henry the Great. They preſuppoſe, indeed, ſome knowledge of the foregoing commotions, which are only occaſionally mentioned; but it diſplays all the

ſucceeding events with the utmoſt particularity. The events are equally numerous and diverſified; wars, foreign and civil; intereſts of ſtate and religion; maſter-ſtrokes of policy; unexpected diſcoveries; ſtruggles of ambition; ſtratagems of policy; embaſſies and negociations; are all to be found in this book; and all this is far from the whole.

The Memoirs of Sully take their value, perhaps their greateſt value, from the innumerable recitals of a private kind, which ſcarcely belongs to the province of hiſtory; this is the particular advantage of memoirs, they admit all ſubjects, however numerous, and all incidents however various, which one can deſire to inſert; and they are not ſubject to the burthen impoſed upon hiſtory, of continuing the narrative through dry generalities, with which even the writer finds himſelf diſguſted.

To obtain a compleat knowledge of any prince, it is neceſſary that the picture of his private life be ſet to view, together with his public conduct; he muſt be ſhown with his courtiers and domeſtics, in thoſe moments when he is little obſerved: his character muſt be fixed by his letters and converſation; the paſſions are better diſplayed by a ſingle word, related as it was ſpoke, than by all the art which a hiſtorian can uſe. This idea of memoirs is quite anſwered by thoſe of Sully; ſo that no man, till he has peruſed them, can have

have a juſt conception of Henry IV. They repreſent to us that great prince, in his good as well as his bad fortune; now as a private man, now as a king, as a warrior, or as a politician; and to come ſtill lower, as a huſband, father, or friend; and all told in ſo affecting a manner, that the reader cannot refrain from taking part in the moſt minute and indifferent incident of his life: at moſt, I can only except ſome military recitals, which occur perhaps too often at the beginning of the work, and a ſmall number of other paſſages leſs pleaſing; though on the other hand, theſe recitals are always connected with the public affairs, and diverſified, like the reſt, with the part which was borne in them by the duke of Sully.

He is as the ſecond actor, and this double action makes no breach in the unity of intereſt, becauſe this miniſter ſays almoſt nothing of himſelf, which has not ſome relation to public affairs, or the perſon of his maſter. The reader will, doubtleſs, be pleaſed to know what judgment was formed of theſe Memoirs when they firſt appeared in the world, and I ſhall give him information from the author of an old diſcourſe, to be found among the MSS.* of the king's library: "One of the "moſt beautiful pictures of human prudence "and fidelity, ſays he, is to be found in the "account left to the public, in two volumes,

* Vol. 9590.

" by the dukes of Sully, of the nature of " the advice he had given, and the ſervices " he had done, to his king and benefactor, " as well for his particular and perſonal ho- " nour, as for the proſperity of his kingdom. " And, in truth, the fortune of Henry the " Great and the virtue of his prime miniſter, " are two things which appear alternately, " or, more properly, go hand in hand. The " miniſter, in this work, ſerves and obliges " the king, in all the ways that a king can " receive ſervice or obligation from a ſubject, " with his hand, his courage, his ſword, and " even with his blood, or actions of bravery " and adventure, but particularly in his " council and cabinet, with the greateſt un- " derſtanding, and moſt quick-ſighted po- " licy, the moſt pure diſintereſtedneſs, and " untainted ſincerity, that has ever been " known to hiſtorians, either of our own or " other countries."

It is natural, in the reign of a prince like Henry IV. to look for great generals, deep politicians, and ſkilful miniſters; but we are ſurprized to find in one man, the warrior, the politician, the wiſe manager of buſineſs, the ſteady and unbending friend, as well as the cloſe confidant and darling of his maſter. But what is yet more uncommon, is to ſee in a work where the actions of two ſuch extraordinary perſons are collected after their deaths, a great king forced to make a conqueſt of his own

own kingdom, engaged with a miniſter, in his way, not leſs great, in contriving means to make his undertakings ſucceſsful; labouring afterwards, in concert with him, to make his kingdom not only peaceable but flouriſhing, regulating the revenue, laying the foundation of trade, methodizing the government, and, in ſhort, recovering every part of the eſtabliſhment from confuſion.

In this work therefore are comprized two lives united together, and illuſtrating and adorning one another, the lives of a king and a miniſter, his confidant nearly of the ſame age, carried on from the infancy of both to the death of the king, and to the retreat of the miniſter.

We may add, that theſe Memoirs of Sully are yet further valuable, by maxims of excellent morality, by politics derived from truth; by an infinite number of views, ſchemes, and regulations, of almoſt every kind, with which they are filled. The duke of Sully is ſaid, by one of his cotemporaries, to have been the only man that ever diſcovered the means of uniting two things, which our fathers not only could not join together, but conſidered in their own nature inconſiſtent, the increaſe of the king's revenue, and the relief of the people. He that would have an idea of a good ſubject and an incorruptible miniſter, muſt look for it in this picture, where he will ſee œconomy in its full luſtre, and policy in all its

practice; the art of uſing and of gaining power; the ſcience of reigning as a man, and of reigning as a king; the fineſt inſtructions and moſt forceable examples of morality are here exhauſted, and the whole ſupported and adorned by a knowledge of every thing, from the higheſt arts to the mechanic occupations.

However high this praiſe may ſeem, I do not find that the ſevereſt critics depart much from it; one need only conſult the abbot Le-Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, vol. II. book ii. p. 687. father Le Long, and a multitude of modern writers; for who is there that does not cite the Memoirs of Sully as the firſt political treatiſe that has ſhewn us the real power of this kingdom, and in which are contained the ſeeds of whatever has been done by Richelieu, Mazarine, and Colbert; and in which is opened the beſt ſchool of the art of government?

I will now quit this conſideration for another, which I neither can nor ought to conceal; the pleaſure which ſo valuable a book affords, is attended with a degree of fatigue which makes this ornament of libraries uſeleſs to the greater part of readers.

This is to be imputed to want of method, and defects of ſtyle; the ſubjects lie here in great confuſion; thoſe who have ranged them propoſe to entertain us with particular recitals of military, political, and domeſtic affairs; but

but they neither know how to keep them apart, nor to join them properly: a fact is cleared up, or a narrative continued, at the diſtance, ſometimes, of an hundred pages; from the beginning of the firſt volume, one muſt often jump to the end of the ſecond: the letters of Henry, which ought to be regularly inſerted in the ſtory, are bundled up together and put by themſelves, or introduced where they only break the thread of the diſcourſe, to which very often they have no relation: the maxims of law and government are driven off to a diſtant part, where it is often difficult to meet with them; they have the appearance of an independent note, and one might have known, that the compilers were mere men of buſineſs, though they had not told it.

As to the diction, it is not going too far to ſay, that it has every fault which diction can admit; it is too much diffuſed, obſcured frequently by the enormous protraction of the ſentences, and frequently by the impropriety of the words, which are ſometimes creeping and low, and ſometimes ſwelled with ridiculous magnificence.

THESE two general reflections on the Memoirs of Sully, one ſhould have imagined might have put it into the thoughts of ſome of our beſt writers, to make that book agreeable, which is ſo intereſting and uſeful; the other, becauſe what they have good ariſes

from the ſubject, and what is wrong conſiſts only in the form in which they are ſhewn. It is allowed on all hands, that this muſt be excepted from the number of thoſe old books, which cannot be altered without being ſpoiled; but the danger of giving offence to the nicety of critics, has hitherto driven away all thoughts of ſuch an undertaking: and I confeſs that I could never have engaged in it, had I not been urged on by that fondneſs for the original, which brings the paſſions as well as the genius into a work, and makes us blind to all the obſtacles that may oppoſe us; for, to accommodate ſuch a work as this to the preſent taſte, a man muſt preſerve at once the fidelity of a tranſlator, and the liberty of a compoſer: he muſt carefully preſerve the ſenſe of his author, though he muſt abridge, tranſpoſe, and methodiſe his work.

An emendation, merely grammatical, which ſhould reach no farther than to change thoſe expreſſions, which are confeſſedly bad, and to retrench thoſe that are apparently ſuperfluous, would have been ſhort of the reformation which the ſtyle requires; and, if nothing had been attempted but to bring the ſcattered parts of the ſtory together, and methodiſe thoſe things that are out of order, to free the book from the inconvenience of confuſion, even this muſt have ended in the deſtruction of the text. I have tried every method that I could invent to avoid the neceſſity of taking the

the work wholly to pieces, and moulding it anew: but I ſaw, at laſt, that no other way would anſwer my intention: I was convinced that a ſtyle ſo faulty as that of theſe Memoirs, was far from deſerving to be treated with the ſame reſpect as that of Comines, Montagne, and Amyot: that the mere general alterations which are confeſſedly neceſſary, would change it ſo much from its preſent ſtate, that to make it yet more different, was no great matter: and that theſe alterations, producing a neceſſity of connections and tranſitions, which would naturally be of a different caſt of language from the reſt, many patches of new ſtyle appearing in theſe pages of antiquity, would have been a diſagreeable and diſſimular mixture; and that the original muſt not only be cleared from a great number of odd expreſſions, but of unnatural and unuſual ideas, which appears in the ridiculous ſingularity in the very title, Oeconomies Royales, & Servitudes Loyales: that ſuch liberties as I have taken was neceſſary, in order to arrive at a juſt chronology and arrangement of matter: and that this liberty was conſiſtent enough with the obligation of preſerving the ſenſe of the original, and ſuffering the Memoirs of Sully to loſe nothing by being put into a new language.

In the firſt place, I found it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to change this ſtated language of ſecretaries, who know nothing but to praiſe

and flatter. What can be more tedious than to ſee them, at every line, addreſſing their maſter to put him in mind of ſomething that has already happened, and to confeſs that he underſtands the buſineſs better than themſelves? This perpetual addreſs made the book little more than a long dedication; and yet this could not have been corrected without giving the work a new form.

I MUST add, that the hiſtorical narrative, which allows only the third perſon to be uſed, could not take place here, as I immediately found, when I endeavoured to apply it: for the Memoirs of Sully, as I have already ſaid, inſtead of one principal actor, preſent us with two, whoſe parts conſtantly intermingled in the recital, or who almoſt always make their appearance together, either talking between themſelves or with other perſons. The pronouns he and him, which in other hiſtories ſupply ſo conveniently the place of proper names, muſt, in a book like this, have been applied ſometimes to one, ſometimes to another, which would have produced an obſcurity not to have been avoided, but by repetitions and circumlocutions equally inconvenient. If to rid our hands of this difficulty, which will be generally perceived, this book had been entituled, Memoirs to contribute to a Hiſtory of Henry IV. and the relation had been contracted to the actions of that prince, this had at once cut off half the Memoirs, and

and perhaps that half which can leaſt be ſpared; for the life and actions of Henry the Great are every where to be found; but thoſe of the duke of Sully can be read no where elſe: and it had been ſtill leſs proper to have mentioned only the action of the miniſter.

THERE remained therefore only one ſcheme to purſue, that of making Sully tell his own ſtory. I yielded with leſs reluctance to this neceſſity, as I found it likely to be the ſource of new pleaſure; for nothing is more proper to throw over a work thoſe intereſting paſſages, which put the heart into emotion, than to introduce the principal actor in a complicated affair, entertaining you with an account of the part which he acted; and what an actor would he appear if one could attain to make him ſpeak as ſuch a miniſter, ſo favoured by his maſter, and ſo reſpected by all the ranks of the community, might be ſuppoſed to ſpeak at the preſent time.

THIS ſingle motive might prevail upon the public to grant me the indulgence which I require, for the only real liberty I have taken, if it ſhould be found that I have, in other reſpects, diſcharged the duty which this licence made indiſpenſible; but, as I cannot aſſume ſo much to myſelf, I ſhall found my defence upon a matter of fact; which is, that, in reality, the duke of Sully himſelf is the true author of the Memoirs which bear his name; ſince the original pieces are his own, and his ſecre-

ſecretaries did nothing more than ſtitch them together. This is eaſily perceived in ſeveral places, where the pen of the miniſter being with-held, either by promiſe of ſecrecy or ſome conſideration equally ſtrong, you ſee the reader's expectation diſappointed with regard to facts of which the ſecretaries themſelves had apparently not the leaſt knowledge. This is therefore no robbery, but an honeſt reſtitution, which I make to their maſter of his own works. In atteſtation of this, I can produce all our writers, who ſhew evidently when they quote the Memoirs of Sully, that they conſider them as the work of that great man, and depend upon his authority. The ſingle doubt of Vittorio Siri * is of no weight againſt ſo much evidence.

THIS critical diſquiſition I do not think of ſufficient importance or amuſement, to require that I ſhould tranſcribe whole pages to eſtabliſh this truth, by exhibiting the words of Henry, Sully, or the ſecretaries themſelves: he that thinks it worth his while, may conſult the places marked in the margin †. I ſhall here offer only a conjecture, which I ſubmit to the diſcernment of my reader.

THE Memoirs of Sully were formed firſt upon the obſervations which M. de Roſny be-

* Mem. Rec. Vol. I. p. 29. † Epît des 1, & 3 Tom. Tom. II. p. 407, 409, 410, 434, 435, 440, 448. Tom. III. p. 82, 83, 294, 385, &c. Tom. II. p. 440.

gan,

gan, from his earlieſt youth, to make upon the events of his times, as well thoſe that related to the public as thoſe that affected his maſter and himſelf. To theſe were added, in the next place, the obſervations which he ſet down at the entreaty of his prince, who ſoon began to diſtinguiſh a man of his character. M. de Roſny had plainly no intention to write a connected narrative, much leſs a formal hiſtory, but only a collection of pieces upon ſeveral events of his time, which he improved with his own reflections on government *. The term Journal, which is ſometimes uſed, is not to be taken in the ſtricteſt ſenſe: accounts conſiſting of pieces thus independent, were not things abſolutely new in his time. It is not unlikely that he conſidered himſelf as collecting materials for more regular memoirs, which he afterwards thought fit to communicate to the public, under the name of his ſecretaries, rather than his own.

These regiſters †, of which there has been already mention, were put into the hands of four of his ſecretaries, two of whom compoſed at firſt the two former volumes, ſuch as they now appear, the two other ſecretaries, who were taken into the ſervice of Sully at the time of his retreat, were buſy, at the ſame time, upon the firſt of his two following volumes,

* Tom. II. p. 448. Tom. III. p. 83, 385.
† Epît. Limin du Tom. III. Tom. II. p. 410.

which

which compriſes a ſpace of five years, from 1605 to the death of Henry IV. and imagining their labour incomplete, unleſs they ſhould produce two volumes as well as their fellows, they fell to tumbling over all their maſter's papers, and at laſt attained their purpoſe. But notice muſt be taken, that they are not to be believed too eaſily with reſpect to the place where theſe Memoirs are ſaid to be printed; for they had an intereſt in impoſing upon the public, by making it be believed that theſe Memoirs were not printed in France*. Guy-Patin, father Le-Long, the abbe Lenglet, and ſeveral others, are confident that the two firſt volumes were printed at the caſtle of Sully; and for the two laſt, it is a known fact that their firſt appearance was in an edition printed at Paris 1662, by the care of the abbe Le-Laboureur.

In the Memoirs of Mademoiſelle mention is made of letters, and a great number of other original pieces, which the count de Bethune kept with great care, and ſhewed as a curioſity to thoſe that came to ſee him. Of theſe, part, at leaſt, may be thought the minutes of the duke of Sully. But, ſince none of theſe pieces are found in the vaſt collection of manuſcripts preſented by the count de Bethune, in 1664, to the late king, we may conclude that, after the publication of theſe Memoirs,

* Epit. Limin, ib.

thoſe minutes were deſtroyed as of no farther uſe: but, for my part, I make ſo little reckoning of the works of the compilers, that I could wiſh to have only the originals as they had them; for what they have given us of their own makes no eſſential addition, nor has any conſequence but that of concealing the true work of Sully, which, in many places, cannot be diſtinguiſhed or diſintangled from theirs; for they did not content themſelves with ranging their pieces according to the order of time, which was the beſt thing they were capable of doing.

I KNOW not whether there is not even room to ſuſpect them of having ſuppreſſed ſome pieces of conſiderable importance. One may ſafely charge them, at leaſt, with having deſtroyed The Treatiſe of War, The Marechal de Camp, The Inſtructions Military and Political, and ſome other works of the duke of Sully, which have certainly been once in exiſtence. They have been ſought to no purpoſe in the cloſet of the preſent duke of Sully *, notwithſtanding the pains which he, who is ſo well known for his love of literature and antiquities, has taken to recover monuments which contribute ſo much to the honour of his family. He has little more than ſome accounts and Memoirs relating to the different employments of Maximilian duke of Sully, of which the ſubſtance is found in this book.

* Louis-Pierre-Maximilian de Bethune.

The

The only manuſcripts that raiſe much curioſity, are the original copy of the firſt volume of the Memoirs of Sully, from which the impreſſion was certainly taken; and the two laſt volumes of a kind of heroic romance, of which the two firſt have been loſt. Theſe adventures, or allegorical hiſtories of that age, are entituled, Gelaſtide, ou les Illuſtres princeſſes pucelles du puiſſant Empire de la grande Sclaramane Doloſophomorie, les Sclarazones diamantées, Percy de Rubicelle & Pyrope; titles as ſingular as thoſe of the Memoirs of Sully, and which ſhew that they are drawn up by the ſame hand.

It is poſſible that the loſs of theſe originals is imputed to Sully himſelf, ſince his ſecretaries acted not only under his orders, but under his own eyes*. In that caſe we ſhall be forced to confeſs, that a little vanity, from which this miniſter was not free, kept him from ſuffering his Memoirs to appear in his own name: he perceived that he could not forbear to give himſelf the honour of the brighteſt part of the reign of Heny IV. and, not caring either to praiſe himſelf or to loſe the praiſe he had deſerved, he determined to have that ſaid by others which he could not modeſtly ſay himſelf.

He is charged with another fault proceeding equally from vanity, but which, if we

* Tom. III. p. 83 and 294.

examine

examine it well, may appear very innocent; it is the freedom with which he acts and ſpeaks. Let us hear, on this head, our ancient diſſertator. "This ſtiff and haughty "humour, ſays he, which ſo often obliges "his prince to ſpeak firſt, and to open "himſelf to him, if it had been ſoftened "and made more eaſy, would have been "perhaps more perfect, and more deſerving "of imitation; but, if the original was as "it is repreſented, and nature had formed it "of this caſt, it ought not to be flattered or "diſguiſed: if this gravity and general cir-"cumſpection, which his enemies mention "as a reproach to his memory, was the very "quality which gave ſo much value to his "miniſtry and his credit, we ought not to "regret it in him as a blot, or condemn it as "a defect." And indeed, if a miniſter is of known honeſty, and unſuſpected of any bad deſign, why ſhould he, in ſpeaking to his maſter, or tranſacting with him, recede from the privilege of following the ſevere dictates of truth? Without this liberty the condition of private men would be much happier than that of princes; but we may ſufficiently prove, that Sully deſerves no reproach of this kind, by obſerving that he never received any from his maſter, who not only allowed, but loved and praiſed his freedom of ſpeech. Whatever may be ſaid, for inſtance, of the famous promiſe of marriage which Sully tore

in

in pieces in the hands of Henry, I ſee nothing in that affair which does not deſerve admiration, and there is no fear that it ſhall be drawn into precedent.

The neceſſity of being beforehand with the reader, for my own ſake, has given occaſion to theſe two remarks. I have conſidered it as indecent in Sully to relate all that happened of this kind with Henry IV. and as to perſonal commendations, I cut off what was uttered by ſecretaries, and could never have been ſaid by him, and keep all that he has ſaid, or ſuffered others to ſay to him, that was for his own honour, or for that of the family of Bethune. In like manner I let all ſtand which the ſame vanity, joined with his religious prejudices, diſpoſed him to advance with relation to the greateſt families; ſuch as the houſe of Auſtria, among others, or concerning private perſons, to whom he has not always done juſtice; ſuch as the dukes de Nevers and de Epernon, meſſieurs de Villeroi, Jeannin, and the cardinal de Oſſat, and others, amongſt the Roman catholics; and the dukes de Rohan, de Bouillon, and de La-Trémouille, Du-Pleſſis Mornay; and, to conclude, wi h reſpect to a ſociety deſerving eſteem, for purity of manners, and the ſervice it has done the public, by the education of youth, and the advancement of polite literature.

If I ſtop at this head, it is only to ſhew how

how much I deteſt every ſpecies of prejudice; for otherwiſe I know well enough that I ſhall never be called to account about it: it was my duty to preſerve the ground-work of the original inviolate; and as the original, which I am far from ſuppoſing that my work will put out of the world, muſt always remain in its true ſtate, it would appear againſt me, if I ſhould dare to alter it, and furniſh an accuſation againſt me of diſhoneſty and flattery: all that I have been able to do, and I proteſt I have done it only out of regard to juſtice, is to ſhew my diſlike by frequent corrections, from which alone the public is to judge of my real ſentiments.

It appears indeed to me, that a ſingle word is ſufficient to put an end to the greateſt part of the imputation thrown upon the jeſuits and other good catholics by the duke of Sully: we muſt conſider that they acted upon one principle, and he judged of their actions upon another. It may be added, that in the circumſtances of thoſe things, during the tranſaction, it was difficult to paſs a right judgement upon the meaſures of the different parties: at preſent, ſince time has given new light to their cauſes, motives, and means, we, who are neither carried away by the heat of action, nor overpowered by fear, hope, or deſire, have, with reſpect to the ſubject on which we are treating, two opinions almoſt oppoſite; we deteſt the league, and have great

great reaſon to deteſt it; but, on the other hand, we judge, and not without probability, that, if the league had not been, France was in danger of ſuffering the greateſt of all evils, the loſs of the true religion. If Villeroi, D'Oſſat, and others, ſtand in need of defence, it is on this principle, That they muſt be defended.

A MOTIVE of the ſame kind determined me likewiſe to write notes upon paſſages where Sully ſpeaks unfavourably of the Spaniards, the Engliſh, and other kingdoms in our neighbourhood. I am as far from applauding his prejudices as eſpouſing his quarrels. To ſee nothing in other nations worthy of praiſe, is to be blind; to ſee it, and not own it, is to be weak.

ANOTHER article, which appears to me of yet greater importance than all theſe, is, the liberty with which the author ſometimes diſcovers his particular principles, with reſpect to the very ſubſtance of religion. It is natural to imagine, that a man full of knowledge, of reflection, and of good qualities, muſt have been very dangerous when he was led to ſpeak of the reformed religion, which it is known that the duke of Sully always remained a firm adherent to. Such was my notion of the matter; but the firſt peruſal of his Memoirs altered my opinion. I will quote upon this occaſion, for the laſt time, the writer whoſe teſtimony I have ſo often made uſe of,

of, to ſhew that theſe Memoirs cannot make, at this time, theſe impreſſions which they were unable to make when they were new. "It is not, ſays the author, upon account "of his religious opinions, that he is to be "conſidered as a model, or as an original; "we are to look into theſe Memoirs for a "general, a grand maſter of the ordnance, "a ſuper-intendant of the finances, and a mi-"niſter of an univerſal genius, concurring in "all the ſchemes of his prince; but you are "not here to expect a picture of a chriſtian, "and much leſs of a catholic.—Theſe books," ſays the ſame writer, in another place, "do "not ſhew him properly pious or religious, "becauſe they do not ſhew him a catholic."

THE author might have added another reaſon of yet greater force, which is, that when Sully repreſents himſelf either as a reformed, or catholic, that man, whoſe reaſonings upon almoſt every other ſubject is ſolid and concluſive, appears ſo wretched as a divine, that the mere compariſon of his writings with themſelves is ſufficient to confute him; beſides, how many confeſſions are drawn from him by the force of truth? how much does he ſay againſt the mad determination of ſome proteſtant ſynods, againſt the intrigues and bad deſigns of the chief of that party; againſt the mutinous and ſeditious temper of the whole body? It is ſomething ſo ſingular, to ſee the duke of Sully by turns a Calviniſt,

and

and an enemy to Calviniſts, that I thought it neceſſary to preſerve whatever he has ſaid on the ſubject of religion, leſt what I had ſuppreſſed had been thought of more importance than it really is. But I thought it neceſſary to be likewiſe liberal of my notes, in oppoſition to thoſe paſſages, and perhaps under the notion, that I could never be careful enough of weak minds, I may, without thinking of it, have ſhewn ſome regard to my firſt ſcruples.

The notes have been conſiderably multiplied by another conſideration. As I was deſirous to make this work more clear and compleat, I have ſhewn the ſame regard to things of mere entertainment as for thoſe of neceſſity. I could not prevail upon myſelf to ſkip over a fact obſcure or but ſlightly touched, without clearing it up and explaining it.

In one place, therefore, you will find a paſſage of pure amuſement producing another of the ſame kind; in another place, a perſon of note is mentioned only by his name, and I have thought it neceſſary to add his chriſtian or ſurname, his dignities or employments, and ſometimes the year of his birth or his death. There are notes likewiſe, in which I have endeavoured to rectify falſe calculations and miſtaken dates, and to adjuſt the valuation of coins; and on all theſe occaſions, I have endeavoured to copy only from our beſt writers, and to draw immediately from the foun-

fountain-head; thus the Memoirs of the League, d'Etoile and de Nevers; les Chronologies Novennaire et Septennaire of Cayet, and the Mercure François; meſſieurs de Thou, Péréfixe, Matthieu, Davila, Le-Grain, D'Aubigné; the manuſcripts of the king's library, the Letters of the cardinal D'Oſſat*, &c. are my vouchers for facts: and for all the reſt, my credit depends upon the books which have furniſhed the aſſiſtance that I happened to want. I have commonly contented myſelf with giving their words upon the ſubject before me, without entering into any diſquiſitions, except when contrariety of opinions ſeemed to require it. But notwithſtanding this precaution, the margin of the five or ſix firſt books are ſomewhat crouded; nor was it in my power to do otherwiſe, the firſt years of Henry IV. affording a prodigious number of facts of every ſort, which Sully has only hinted at, or mentioned very ſlightly.

To theſe might very properly have been added, notes upon politics, war, the finances, government, and naval affairs; and I could not, but in compliance with my inclination, ſcatter a few upon the laſt books particularly, of which the ſubject made them often uſeful, and ſometimes abſolutely neceſſary.

As to maxims and reflections, the only uſe that could poſſibly have been made of them,

* For theſe letters I conſulted the old folio edition, as alſo the old edition of L'Etoile's Memoirs.

was to ſcatter them here and there in the places where they have relation. With reſpect to another part of this work, I have taken a contrary method; I have brought together all that was ſaid in different places upon the great and famous deſign of Henry IV. which ſeems often to break the narration in an unpleaſant manner; and finding no place where a recital of ſo many particulars could be inſerted, I made a book of it by itſelf. I may be ſuſpected, upon theſe laſt heads, of having made great additions to my original; but let the reader ſuſpend his judgment till he has read it from beginning to end. I am well aware, that the neceſſity of arranging theſe materials in a different order, has given this work a kind of original air, which diſtinguiſhes it from common tranſlations, without giving it the rank of a work of invention. There are many other places where it will be ſeen, that if I had thought myſelf entitled to an abſolute authority over my original, I ſhould often have given it another caſt. As to references, it was not poſſible to put them all in the margin, and they would have only tired the reader.

THE letters, which are ſcattered here and there, I could only have made uſeful, by caſting them into a narrative, and joining them with the facts to which they relate: by this means, I have contrived to diverſify my hiſtory, and have made the letters more uſeful than they

they were before. It is common for thoſe who write on things talked of by them before, to mention them imperfectly; theſe omiſſions I commonly ſupplied with a note, when the matter is ſuch as can be diſcovered, or deſerves explanation; for of this prodigious number of letters, either of the king's or Sully's, the greater part only contains particulars of ſmall importance: all theſe I conſider as uſeleſs, and retrench them either wholly or in part; and I take the ſame courſe with the recitals that are too long, with trifling remarks, with diffuſe memorials and regulations of the finances, drawn out in particularities: but when I find letters, converſations, or other pieces, truly original, I copy them faithfully, except when I meet with a word that would offend the ear, I change it to another: this I intend for the gratification of thoſe readers who would complain, if in theſe ancient Memoirs, the perſonages that are introduced ſhould talk always like men of our own time, and judge of the pleaſure they muſt receive from the ſingularity of the ancient language, by that which it gives to myſelf.

I HAVE followed the uſual method, of dividing an hiſtorical work into books, rather than into chapters; there are here thirty books, reckoning the account of Henry's great project for one of them. Some were of opinion, that this project, having never been executed, might have been omitted;

but it ſeemed to me to make ſo conſiderable a part of Sully's Memoirs, that the public were likely to be offended with its ſuppreſſion.

I THOUGHT it not for my purpoſe to proceed farther than the retreat of Sully, in which I have ventured to differ from my original: but beſides, that, according to my ſcheme, I ſaw no uſe to be made of the pieces which had no relation either to Sully or Henry IV. I thought, judging of theſe pieces critically, that they did not deſerve much attention from mankind. I find nothing in the fourth volume which can truly be called the work of the duke of Sully, more than what he ſays of the new court, of the council, and of himſelf, to his departure from Paris; together with the regulations that he had formed for different purpoſes, and the evidence he gives of the great deſign of Henry IV. As to the furious invective againſt Villeroi, and the other pieces belonging to the reign of Lewis XIII. and, in a word, whatever is contained in the two hundred laſt pages of the fourth volume, the whole is apparently of another hand; ſo immethodical, ſo unconnected, and at the ſame time ſo trifling and ſo dull, that I could look upon it only as a thing compiled by one of his ſecretaries, without judgment, and for this only purpoſe, as themſelves confeſs, that the laſt volume might be as large as the former *; all this is to be

* Epît. Limin. du Tom. III.

ranked

ranked with the panegyrics, ſonnets, and other pieces, both in French and Latin; which the reader, if ſuch things happen to pleaſe him, may look for in the original.

As we cannot learn from theſe Memoirs what became of the duke of Sully from his retreat to his death, and as the reader may be curious about him, I have given him a Supplement. Nothing of the lives of great men ſhould be loſt or neglected; this Supplement is more full and intereſting than I at firſt could promiſe myſelf, by means of the information with which the duke of Sully has been pleaſed to ſupply me.

I MAKE uſe, as I have already ſaid, of the edition in folio; it is properly in four volumes, though in ſome libraries it is bound in two: the firſt and ſecond of theſe volumes, printed at Amſterdam, that is to ſay, at Sully, without the date of the year or the printer, for that which appears at its head is counterfeit: this is commonly called the green-lettered edition, on account of its VVV, and its front-piece coloured with green. The third and fourth volumes, printed at Paris by permiſſion, by Auguſtin Courbé, in 1662, this edition is incorrect, but ſome of the others are mutilated, which is worſe. I ſhall here enumerate the ſubſequent editions; the two firſt volumes were reprinted at Rouen, 1649, in two volumes in folio; in a ſmaller letter, at Amſterdam, 1654, in four volumes

12°. At Paris, 1664, by Courbé, in two volumes in folio. The third and fourth volumes were reprinted at Paris, 1663, in eight volumes 12°; and at the ſame time at Rouen, in ſeven volumes 12°. The laſt edition is that of Trevoux, in 1725, in twelve volumes 12°.

WHAT I have here to add is to aſſure the public, that I reſpect it too much to expoſe myſelf to its cenſure, by any faults that labour and attention could enable me to avoid; and as for any others, as they may ſerve, if not to correct my work, at leaſt to mend myſelf for the future, I am ſo far from endeavouring to obviate them, that I entreat the world not to ſpare them; they ſhall never find me claiming the indulgence naturally due to the firſt attempt, nor do I plead my ſituation in excuſe; though my ſituation was ſo little propitious to this kind of labour, that I ſhould have ſeen myſelf obliged to throw it up, had I not been aſſiſted by perſons whoſe generoſity was equal to their zeal for the advancement of learning. This confeſſion is due to truth. I ſhould likewiſe be guilty of extreme ingratitude, if I omitted to make it known that a man of character, who had been intimately acquainted with the two late dukes of Sully, not only gave me the firſt notion of this work, but aſſiſted me likewiſe to form the plan, and promoted the execution by all the means which his friendſhip or generoſity could dictate.

A SUM-

A

SUMMARY

OF THE

Books contained in the First Volume.

SUMMARY of the FIRST BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1570 to 1580. State of affairs in the council of France, and thoſe of the calviniſts, at the peace of 1570. Roſny's extraction, and anecdotes of the houſe of Bethune. Some account of the birth, education, and early years, of the prince of Navarre. Idea of the government under Henry II. Francis II. and during the firſt years of the reign of Charles IX. Artifice of queen Catherine of Medicis to ruin the huguenots. Roſny engages himſelf in the ſervice of the king of Navarre, and follows him to Paris. Death of the queen of Navarre. The wounding of admiral Coligny, and other cauſes of ſuſpicion, which the court gave to the proteſtants. Profound diſſimulation of Charles IX. Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; a particular relation of this event. Obſervations and reflections upon it. The conduct of Charles IX. and admiral Coligny. In what manner the king of Navarre and Roſny eſcaped being maſſacred.

Edu-

Education of Roſny. The calviniſts reſume courage, and retrieve their affairs. Flight of the prince of Condé. Impriſonment of the princes. The inſurrection of Shrove Tueſday. Death of Charles IX. His character. Henry III. returns to France, and declares war againſt the huguenots. Flight of Monſieur and the king of Navarre. The queen-mother deceives them by the peace called the Peace of Monſieur. The war is renewed. Military rencounters, and taking of cities. Roſny's firſt exploits in arms. The peace of 1577. Conferences between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. More military expeditions. Taking of Cahors, &c. Faults committed by Roſny.

SUMMARY of the SECOND BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1580 to the year 1587. Affairs of Flanders. The United Provinces offer their crown to Monſieur: he goes to Holland; Roſny attends him. The taking of Château-Cambreſis, &c. Monſieur ſurpriſes the citadel of Cambrai: he goes to England; returns to France; is hated by the Dutch and the proteſtants on account of the treachery attempted by him at Antwerp; diſconcerted by the prince of Orange. Roſny diſſatisfied with Monſieur, who, finding all his ſchemes blaſted, returns to France. Roſny returns likewiſe, after having viſited the city of Bethune. Spain makes offers to the king of Navarre. Roſny ſent to the court of France by the king of Navarre: he viſits Monſieur. Death of that prince. Roſny's ſecond journey to Paris, and negotiation there: his marriage. Domeſtic employments. Origin, formation, and progreſs, of the League. Henry III. joins the League againſt the king of Navarre. Diviſions in the calviniſt party; the views of its chiefs. Roſny is again ſent to Paris by the king of Navarre,

to

to obſerve the motions of the League. An attempt upon Angers; fails. A dangerous journey taken by Roſny. The prince of Condé in extream peril. The king of Navarre in great perplexities. Military expeditions. Roſny negotiates an alliance between the two kings. The taking of Talmont, Fontenay, &c. Roſny goes to viſit and aſſiſt his wife during the calamity of the plague. Fruitleſs interviews between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. A ſeries of military expeditions. Roſny defeats one of the enemies ſquadrons. Other ſucceſſes of the calviniſts; a declared perſecution againſt them. Madame de Roſny in great danger. Roſny's ſecret journey to Paris. The duke of Joyeuſe leads an army into Poitou, and is beat by the king of Navarre at Coutras; a particular account of this battle.

SUMMARY of the THIRD BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1587 to the year 1590. Errors committed by the king of Navarre and the proteſtants, after the battle of Coutras. Secret deſigns of the prince of Condé, the count of Soiſſons, and the viſcount Turenne. Death of the prince of Condé; obſervations upon his death. The battle of the Barricades, and the conſequences; reflections upon this event. The duke and cardinal of Guiſe aſſaſſinated; reflections and obſervations on this occaſion. Death of Catherine de Medicis. The puſillanimity of Henry III. with reſpect to the League. Roſny negotiates a treaty of alliance between the two kings; the diſguſt he receives upon this occaſion. Interview of the two kings. The duke of Maïenne ſits down before Tours; military exploits on both ſides. Battle of Foſſeuſe, at which Roſny is preſent. Death of madame de Roſny. Military ſucceſſes of the two kings. Siege of Paris. Death of Henry III. particulars of this aſſaſſination. Henry IV.

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aſks counſel of Roſny; the perplexing ſituation of this prince. The diſpoſitions of the ſeveral officers in the royaliſt army with reſpect to him. Roſny ſurpriſes Meulan. Military expeditions. A particular account of the battle of Arques, at which Roſny was preſent. Skirmiſhes at Pollet. Henry IV. often in danger. An attempt upon Paris. Rencounters and ſieges of different places. Digreſſions upon thoſe Memoirs. Siege of Meulan. A Spaniſh army in France. Roſny defends Paſſi. The battle of Ivry; particulars of this battle. Roſny often in great danger; is wounded in ſeveral places; he is carried by his own orders to Roſny. Henry IV's affectionate behaviour to him there.

SUMMARY of the FOURTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1590 to 1592. A mutiny in Henry's army after the battle of Ivry; diſſipation of the finances, and other cauſes of the little advantages he derived from it. Cities taken. Attempts on others; diſappointed. The taking of the ſuburbs of Paris; the ſiege of this city; particulars relating to this ſiege; the cauſes which obliged Henry to raiſe it. The prince of Parma leads an army thither; his encampment, and other military details. An error committed by Henry: he obliges the prince of Parma to retire. The ſiege of Chartres. An adventure wherein Roſny is in danger of being killed: he retires to Roſny in diſcontent. Succeſs of Henry IV's arms. The taking of Corbie, Noyon, &c. An enterpriſe upon Mante. The duke of Montpenſier's expeditions in Normandy. Preparations for the ſiege of Rouen; errors committed at this ſiege. Mutual animoſities between the ſoldiers and officers of Henry's army. Attacks, aſſaults, and other particulars of this ſiege. The prince of Parma

ma comes again with an army into France. The inſolence of the council of ſixteen. Henry advances to meet the prince of Parma. An enterpriſe boldly ſeconded by the duke of Nevers. The battle of Aumale; particulars of this battle, and obſervations upon it. Henry raiſes the ſiege of Rouen: marches, encampments, rencounters, and battles, betwixt him and the prince of Parma, in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Obſervations upon theſe battles. A glorious exploit of the prince of Parma at the paſſage of the Seine. Henry's army refuſes to purſue him; the cauſes of this refuſal; and reflections upon it.

SUMMARY of the FIFTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1592 — 1593. A ſuccinct account of the ſtate of affairs in the provinces of France during the years 1591 and 1592. Intrigues carried on by the count of Soiſſons: his character. An abridgement of the duke of Epernon's hiſtory: his diſobedience; his character. Several parties formed in the ſouthern provinces of France: a ſhort account of what paſſed there. The ſiege of Villemur. The ſiege of Epernai, where marſhal Biron is ſlain: his eulogium. Death of the prince of Parma. Roſny marries again and retires in diſcontent. The cauſe of it. He intercepts the memoirs of the negotiations between Spain and the League. A detail and examen of thoſe papers. A third party formed in France: the perſons who compoſe it; and their views. Henry follows Roſny's advice. The wiſe and cautious conduct obſerved by them both. Converſations betwixt them, wherein Roſny prevails upon him to change his religion. Henry ſounds the proteſtants upon this reſolution. Roſny's conference with Bellozanne, the two Durets, and Du-Perron. Conditions offered by the League to Henry; with what deſigns; rejected. The meeting of the ſtates

of

of Paris. A project of the prince of Parma's badly executed. Diſunion of the catholic chiefs in theſe ſtates: their intrigues and artifices to ſupplant each other. The parliament of Paris publiſhes an arret. The zeal of its members for the honour of the crown. The truce. The great wiſdom and ability of Henry in profiting of the diſſenſions among the chiefs of the League. Conduct of Villeroi and Jeannin. Roſny gives the king very prudent advice. The ſiege of Dreux; taken by Roſny's means. Henry removes all obſtacles to his converſion. Particulars relating to his abjuration.

MEMOIRS

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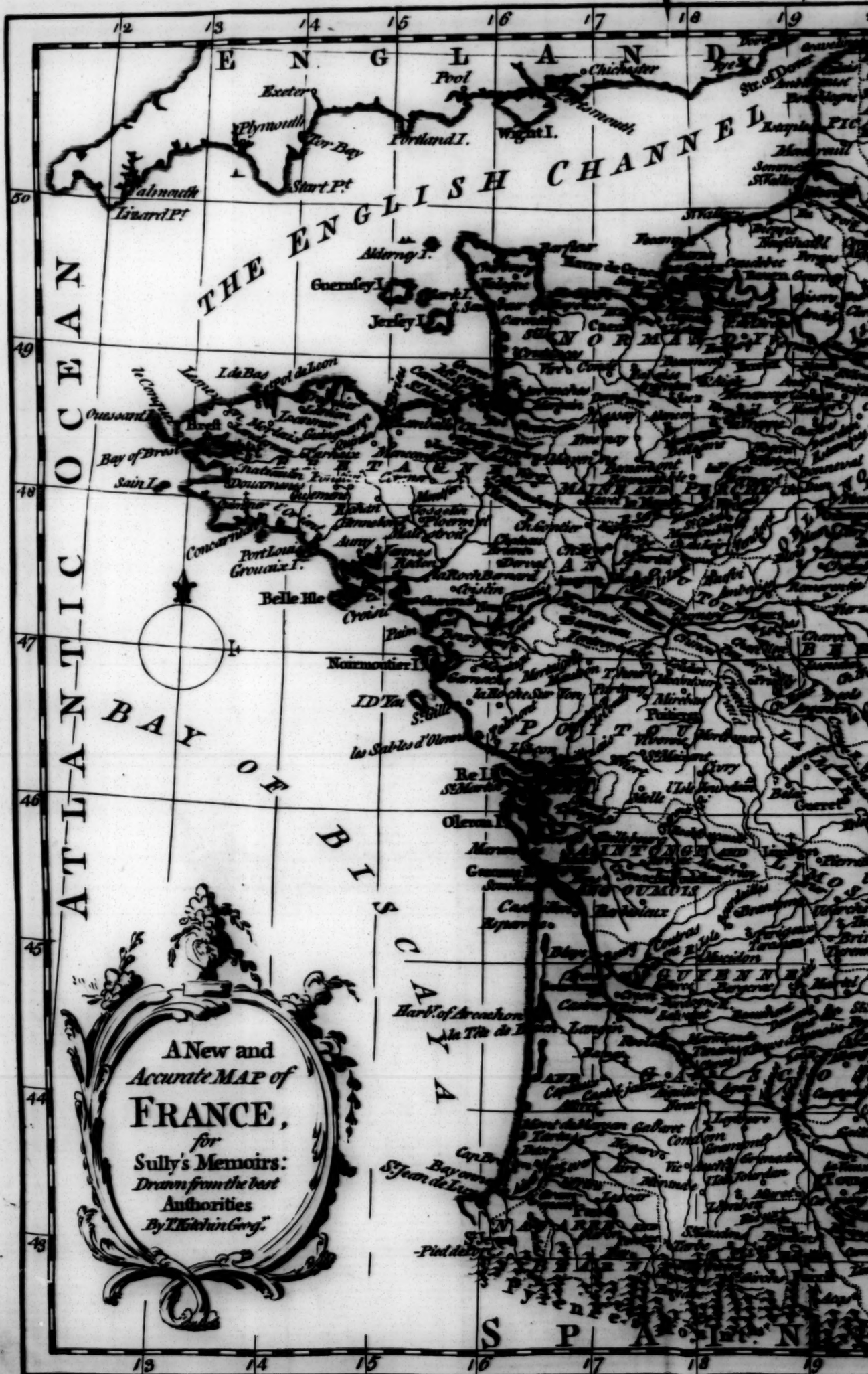
ENGLAND
THE ENGLISH CHANNEL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
SPAIN
Pyrenees
Pool
Exeter
Plymouth
Portland I.
Wight I.
Chichester
Portsmouth
Falmouth
Start Pt.
Lizard Pt.
Alderney I.
Guernsey I.
Jersey I.
Ide Bas
Ouessant I.
Brest
Bay of Brest
Sain I.
Port Louis
Belle Ile
Noirmoutier I.
Ile d'Yeu
Les Sables d'Olonne
Re I.
Oleron I.
Harb.r of Arcachon
Cap Breton
St. Jean de Luz
Pied de Port
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
ANJOU
POITOU
GUIENNE
A New and Accurate MAP of FRANCE, for Sully's Memoirs: Drawn from the best Authorities By T. Kitchin Geog.r

Longitude E. from Ferro

HENRY IV.

Surnam'd the Great LXII.d King of France

Died at Paris May 14.th 1610. after

Reigning 21 Years.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK I.

THEY flattered themſelves at the court of Charles IX. that the miſeries which befel the proteſtants under the preceding reigns, would at laſt oblige them either to ſubmit to the king's will, or to leave the kingdom. The death of the prince of Condé *, their leader, the loſs of two great battles †, the utter diſperſion of their ſoldiers, and the little probability of their being able to re-animate the feeble remainder of their troops, diſcouraged by a long train of misfortunes, all contributed to perſuade them, that the moment of their ruin approached ‡. A courage ſuperior to all events, ſupported them in circumſtances ſo diſtreſsful: they

* Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, brother of Antony king of Navarre, and ſon of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome. He was taken priſoner at the battle of Jarnac, in the year 1569, and murdered by a piſtol-ſhot in the back part of his head, by the baron de Monteſquiou. This gentleman being captain of the guards to the duke of Anjou, that prince was accuſed of having commanded him to aſſaſſinate the prince of Condé.

† Jarnac and Moncontour.

‡ The reader muſt not forget, that it is a proteſtant who ſpeaks in theſe memoirs: the condition in which religion and politics are at preſent in France, leaves no room to apprehend any bad conſequences to either from what Monſieur de Sully can ſay in favour of the pretended reformed religion. One may even, from the author's own words in ſeveral places, draw very ſtrong arguments for the unity of religion in a kingdom, and the advantage the catholic religion has over the proteſtant. See what is ſaid on this ſubject in the preface to this work.

recalled their ſoldiers, who were ſcattered throughout the provinces; and who now began to draw together from Burgundy, Bourbon, and Berry. La Charité was named for the place of their general rendezvous; Vezelai, and ſome other towns, ſtill holding out for them in that neighbourhood. They had even the boldneſs to promiſe themſelves, they ſhould ſpread the alarm as far as Paris, as ſoon as they were reinforced by ſome conſiderable ſupplies of horſe and foot, that they expected from Germany.

THIS news gave great uneaſineſs to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis; but ſhe flattered herſelf, that it would not be difficult to hinder their junction, and afterwards to diſperſe the troops, which ſhe ſuppoſed would be by that means thrown into a conſternation. For this purpoſe ſhe ordered a powerful army to march. Strozzy †, La Chatre, Tavannes, La Valette, and all the general officers in France, were deſirous of ſerving in it; and the marechal de Coſſé ‡, who was to have the ſupreme command, ſuffered himſelf to be intoxicated with the glory he ſhould acquire, by extirpating even the laſt huguenot ſoldier, and bringing the chiefs of the party bound hand and foot to the queen-mother: but he was ſoon undeceived: the proteſtant army received

† Philip Strozzy, lord of Epernay, ſon of Peter Strozzy, marechal of France. Claude de la Chatre, afterwards marechal of France. John de Nogaret, father of the duke d'Epernon. Gaſpard de Saulx de Tavannes, who was alſo marechal of France; he had been page to Francis I. and was at that time one of the counſellors and confidents of Catherine de Medicis. His character may be known by the following traits, which I ſhall copy from the author of the Henriade in his notes, p. 34. "In the night of St. Bartholomew," ſays he, "he ran through the ſtreets of Paris, crying, Let blood, let blood; "bleeding is as good in the month of Auguſt as in May. His ſon, "who has written his memoirs, relates, that his father being upon "his death-bed, made a general confeſſion of the ſins of his life; "after which his confeſſor ſaying to him, with an air of aſtoniſh-"ment, Why! you ſpeak not a word of St. Bartholomew. I look "upon that, replied the marechal, as a meritorious action, which "ought to atone for all the ſins I have ever committed."

‡ Artus de Coſſé, lord of Gonnor, who died in 1582.

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him with great intrepidity; they were always the firſt to offer battle; in the ſkirmiſhes, which were frequent, the advantage was wholly on their ſide; and they even carried away a kind of victory at the encounter of Arnai-le-duc *. So much obſtinacy convinced the queen-mother, that to ruin the proteſtant party it would be neceſſary to have recourſe to other meaſures than war. Treachery ſeemed to her the ſecureſt; and, in order to gain time to prepare for it, ſhe liſtened ſo favourably to propoſals for an accommodation, that a peace was concluded when it was leaſt expected, and upon conditions very advantageous for the huguenots. This was the peace † of 1570. After which, during the ſpace of two years, each party taſted the ſweets of a repoſe, that had been equally deſired by both.

* It was expected from appearances, that the marechal de Coſſé would beat the huguenot army, or at leaſt prevent it from approaching Paris: neither the one nor the other he performed; on the contrary, he was obliged to retreat, after a very ſmart encounter, and from thenceforward contented himſelf with watching the motions of the enemy. In this engagement the calviniſts were commanded by the prince of Navarre and the prince of Condé his couſin-german, the one ſixteen, the other ſeventeen years of age, and by the admiral de Coligny. Peter Matthieu, the hiſtorian, relates theſe words of Henry IV. after he had aſcended the throne: ſpeaking of this encounter of Arnai-le-duc, "My firſt exploits in arms, ſaid this prince, were at "Arnai-le-duc, where the queſtion was, whether I ſhould fight or "retire. I had no retreat nearer than forty miles from thence, and "if I ſtaid, I muſt certainly lie at the mercy of the country people. "By fighting, I ran the riſk of being taken or ſlain, for I had no "cannon, and the king's forces had: and a gentleman was killed "not ten paces diſtant from me with a cannon ſhot: but recommending the ſucceſs of this day to God, it pleaſed him to make it "favourable and happy." Vol. I. book v. p. 327. In this ſame year the huguenots gained the battle of Luçon, and took Marennes, the iſle of Oleron, Brouage, Xaintes, &c.

† By this treaty of peace, many privileges, of which they had been deprived, were reſtored to them, the number of their churches were augmented, and four cities were given them for ſecurity, La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité. This peace was ſigned the 11th of Auguſt, and was called the lame and ill founded peace, becauſe it was concluded in the name of the king by Biron, who was lame, and by N. de Meſmes, lord of Malaſſiſe, which in French ſignifies ill founded.

My father ‡ retired to his houſe at Roſny, and employed himſelf in ſettling his domeſtic affairs. As it is the hiſtory of my own life, jointly with that of the prince whom I ſerved, that will make the ſubject of theſe memoirs, 'tis neceſſary that I ſhould give ſome account of my family and perſon. By ſatisfying the curioſity of the public in theſe particulars, I muſt intreat, that neither vanity nor affectation be imputed to me, ſince a ſtrict regard to truth is my only inducement for relating whatever may appear advantageous for me, either here, or in the ſucceeding parts of theſe Memoirs.

Maximilian is my baptiſmal name, and Bethune that of my family §, which derives its origin, by the houſe of Coucy, from the ancient houſe of Auſtria: we muſt not, however, confound it with that which is at preſent in poſſeſſion of the empire of Germany, and the two Spains. This laſt is deſcended only from the counts of Habſbourg and Quibourg ‖, private gentlemen, who three hundred years ſince were

‡ Francis de Bethune, Baron de Roſny, who died in the year 1575. His firſt wife was Charlotte Dauvet, daughter of Robert Dauvet, lord de Rieux, preſident of the chamber of accounts, and of Anne Briçonnet; by whom he had children, whoſe names will be mentioned hereafter. His ſecond wife was Margaret de Louvigny, who brought him no iſſue.

§ Theſe particulars relating to the houſe of Bethune, are drawn from the body of the ancient memoirs of Sully, and the pieces joined to them; but it will be ſafeſt to rely on the beſt modern genealogiſts, whoſe opinions we ſhall mention hereafter.

‖ It was long believed, that the houſe of Auſtria was deſcended from the counts of Habſbourgh, or Thierſtein. The writings of the abbey de Mure, or Muri, in Switzerland, careleſly conſulted by Theodore Godefroy, and upon his word adopted by the beſt criticks, and even by father Le Long, have given riſe to this error; but by theſe writings better examined, by the charters of the monaſtery of St. Trutpert, and other acts, it appears, that this houſe is originally from Briſgaw, that it is deſcended from the ancient counts of Alſace, and goes back, by Luitfrid, Rampert, Otpert, &c. counts of Habſbourgh and landgraves of Alſace, not only to Gontran the rich, count of Altembourgh, who lived in the beginning of the tenth century, but even to Adelric or Ethic the firſt, called duke of Germany, eighteenth anceſtor of Raoul or Rodolph the firſt, to the middle of the ſeventh century. This ſeems to be ſufficiently well eſtabliſhed by the

in the pay of the cities of Straſbourg, Baſil, and Zurich, and who would have thought themſelves highly honoured by being ſtewards of the houſhold to ſuch a prince as the king of France; ſince Raoul, chief of this ſecond houſe of Auſtria, held a like employment under Ottocar king of Bohemia. It is from the ſon of this Raoul, that the new ſtock of Auſtria properly begins, for he took the name of Auſtria inſtead of his own.

THE houſe of Bethune (which has given its name to a city of Flanders, and from whence iſſued the counts that anciently governed that province) boaſts of one Robert de Bethune*, protector of the church

the new work in Latin of father Marquard Hergott, a benedictin, printed at Vienna 1737, in three volumes, folio, entitled, The diplomatic genealogy of the auguſt houſe of Habſbourgh, &c. See alſo the learned and judicious extract of this work, inſerted in the Journal des Sçavans, March, April, and June, 1740. Beſides this general error, our Memoirs ſeem to have fallen into two other particular ones. It is certain, we ought not to confound this ſecond houſe of Auſtria with that which had the poſſeſſion of Auſtria, &c. till the year 1248, that Frederick the laſt of it died, and which drew its origin from the ancient dukes of Suabia; but we want proofs of the houſe of Bethune's being allied to that of Suabia, or the firſt houſe of Auſtria, though it was to the ſecond, by the houſe of Coucy. The duke of Sully probably gave credit to the ancient fable, that derives the houſe of Auſtria from Sigebert, ſon of Theodebert, king of Auſtraſia, and has applied it not to the ſecond houſe of Auſtria, but to the firſt, although the one is no more true than the other. He has reaſon for ſaying afterwards, that Raoul or Rodolph, count of Habſbourgh, and the firſt of this houſe that was emperor, had been ſteward of the houſhold to Ottocar, king of Bohemia; and that Albert his ſon, elected emperor likewiſe, was the firſt of his houſe who took the title of duke of Auſtria, which happened in 1274, when Rodolph gained the dutchies of Auſtria, Stiria, Carniola, &c. from Ottocar his rival; but he ought at the ſame time to have done more juſtice than he has to the antiquity of this houſe.

* Du Cheſne ſeems to be much of the ſame opinion. He proves that Robert, called Faiſſeus, the head of the houſe of Bethune, who lived in the tenth century, deſcended from a younger branch of the ancient counts of Flanders, and had for his portion the lordſhip of the city of Bethune, firſt barony of the earldom of Artois. If this opinion be well grounded, 'tis certain, that it was the city of Bethune from which this branch took its name, and which was from that time borne by all the houſe of Bethune. The title of patron of the church was then ſo noble, that many ſovereigns thought it an honour to be diſtinguiſhed by it.

of Arras, whoſe father and grandfather, bearing alſo the name of Robert, were declared protectors of the province of Artois. One of theſe two Roberts de Bethune ſignalized himſelf in France, by the taking of La-Roche-vandais, a fortreſs upon the confines of Auvergne, where the rebel Emerigot Marcel had retired; and the other in the wars of Sicily, by killing with his own hand the tyrant Mainfroy, in the preſence of two armies; a ſervice which Charles of Anjou, the rival of Mainfroy, did not reward too highly, by giving him his daughter Catherine to wife. They mention a fourth, Robert de Bethune, who gained a naval battle over the infidels in the Mediterranean. In the church, a James de Bethune, biſhop of Cambray, at the time of the Croiſade of the Albigeois; and a John de Bethune, abbot of Anchin near Valenciennes, who died in the year 1250, with the reputation of great ſanctity, and whoſe bones are revered as thoſe of a martyr. The hiſtory of the Croiſades has not forgot thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves at the taking of Jeruſalem, by being the firſt that mounted the breach. Antony and Coëſne de Bethune †, emulating the glory of their anceſtors, were alſo the firſt that fixed the ſtandard upon the walls of Conſtantinople, when Baldwin, count of Flanders, won this capital from Alexis Comnenus; and Coëſne obtained the government of it.

WHOEVER has ſuch domeſtic examples as theſe, cannot recall them too often to his memory to animate himſelf to follow them. Happy, if, during the courſe of my life, my conduct may be ſuch, that ſo many illuſtrious men diſdain not to acknowledge

† Theſe are apparently the two brothers, ſons of Robert the fifth, lord of Bethune, whom (according to William of Tyr) Philip of Alſace, count of Flanders, propoſed to marry to the two daughters of Baldwin, king of Jeruſalem. It is alſo certain, that after the death of Peter de Courtenay, emperor of Conſtantinople, this Coëſne or Conon de Bethune was declared regent of the empire, during the minority of Philip de Courtenay his ſon.

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me, nor I have occaſion to bluſh that I am deſcended from them.

At length the houſe of Bethune, growing every day more illuſtrious, became allied ‡ to almoſt all the ſovereign houſes in Europe; it entered into that of Auſtria §, and to conclude with what honoured it infinitely more, the auguſt houſe of Bourbon ‖ did not contemn its alliance.

But I muſt confeſs, that the branch from which I am deſcended, had then loſt much of its firſt ſplendor. It was the iſſue of a younger brother *, and the pooreſt of all who have borne this name. The eldeſt branch having three times fallen into the female line, all the great eſtates it poſſeſſed in different parts of Europe did not go to the collateral branches, but went with the daughters to the royal houſes they married into.

‡ See in Du Cheſne and father Anſelm, all the alliances of the houſe of Bethune with different princes of France; with the emperors of Conſtantinople, the counts of Flanders, Hainault, Boulogne, the kings of Jeruſalem, the dukes of Lorrain, the kings of Caſtile, Leon, Scotland, and England, the families of Courtenay, Chatillon, Montmorency, Melun, Horn, &c.

§ By Jean de Coucy, who married John de Bethune. It muſt be obſerved, that as often as the houſe of Coucy is mentioned here, it is not in reality the houſe of Coucy but that of Guines that is meant. The eldeſt branch of this ancient houſe of Coucy was extinct in the perſon of Enguerrand the fourth of Coucy. Enguerrand de Guines, who married Alice de Coucy, the daughter of a younger branch, revived it, by taking the name and the arms. The houſe of Guines was not leſs ancient and illuſtrious than that of Coucy.

‖ By the houſes of Chatillon, Neelle, Montmorency, Luxembourgh, and laſtly by the houſe of Melun.

Anne de Melun, lady of Roſny, who married John IV. de Bethune, reckoned in her family, ſays Du Cheſne, as well on the ſide of her father, Hugo de Melun, viſcount de Gand, as on that of Jean de Horn her mother, more than ten princes of the blood-royal of France, and all the ſovereigns of Europe.

* John de Bethune, anceſtor in the ſeventh degree of the duke of Sully, had two ſons, Robert and John. Robert, by three marriages, left only daughters. John is the younger brother, of whom the author here ſpeaks; he was lord of Locres and Autrechey. Matthew de Bethune, another anceſtor of the author's, had likewiſe three daughters, and no ſon.

My particular anceſtors, by marrying advantageouſly, reſtored to their branch what it wanted to maintain the dignity of its name; but all theſe riches were almoſt entirely diſſipated by the prodigality and bad management of my grandfather †, who left nothing to his ſon my father, but the eſtate of Anne de Melun his wife, which it was not in his power to deprive him of.

As for what relates to me perſonally: at the time of which I have been ſpeaking, I entered into my eleventh year, being born the 13th of December, 1560. Although I was but the ſecond ‡ of four ſons, yet the natural imperfections of my eldeſt brother § made my father look upon me as the future head of his family; all the indications of a ſtrong and vigorous conſtitution recommending me ſtill more to his favour. My parents bred me in the opinions and doctrine of the reformed religion, and I have continued conſtant in the profeſſion of it; neither threatenings, promiſes, variety of events, nor the change even of the king my protector, joined to his moſt tender ſolicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce it.

Henry ‖ king of Navarre, who will have the principal ſhare in theſe memoirs, was ſeven years

† John de Bethune, baron de Baye: he married Anne de Melun, daughter of Hugo de Melun, viſcount de Gand, and of Jean d'Horn; ſhe was heireſs of Roſny. After her death, he married Jean Du-Pré, a private gentlewoman. He ſold the lordſhips of Hautbois, d'Avraincourt, Novion, Caumartin, Baye, Bannay, Taluz, Loches, Villerenard, Châtillon, Broucy, &c. Du Cheſne, ibid.

‡ Francis de Bethune, baron de Roſny, &c. had ſix ſons, but the author does not reckon John and Charles, who died young. The four others are, Lewis, Maximilian, Solomon, and Philip de Bethune. He mentions each of them in another place.

§ Lewis drowned himſelf at twenty years of age.

‖ "The houſe of Bourbon, from Lewis IX. to Henry IV. had "been almoſt always neglected; and to ſuch extreme poverty was it "reduced, that the famous prince of Condé, brother to Antony king "of Navarre, and uncle to Henry the great, had no more than ſix "hundred livres a year for his patrimony." *Eſſay upon the civil wars.*

Theſe words of the author of the Henriade might eaſily lead one into an error, if at the ſame time we were not warned of it by an hiſtorian

older than me, and when the peace of 1570 was concluded, entered into his eighteenth year*. A countenance noble, open, and inſinuating, free, eaſy, and lively manners, with an uncommon dexterity in performing all the exerciſes ſuitable to his age, drew the eſteem and admiration of all that knew him. He began early to ‡ diſcover thoſe great talents for

hiſtorian better informed, who tells us, that the houſe of Bourbon was then in poſſeſſion of a revenue of more than eight hundred thouſand livres a year in lands only, which was at that time thought a very conſiderable fortune. 'Tis certain, that this was all it poſſeſſed of the ancient eſtate of Bourbon, or even of the houſe of Moncade, the maternal ſtock; the eſtates of theſe two houſes, which came by very rich and illuſtrious alliances, being alienated to purchaſe the viſcounty of Narbonne. Peter Matthieu's hiſtory of Henry IV. vol. II. p. 1 and 2. For theſe alliances, and the genealogy of the houſe of Bourbon, conſult alſo the New chronology of Peter Victor Cayet, vol. I. book i. p. 237. and our other hiſtorians.

* He was born at Pau in Bearn, December 13, 1553. Mr. de Perefixe relates ſome very curious particulars concerning his birth. "Henry d'Albert, his grandfather, made his daughter promiſe to "ſing a ſong to him while ſhe was in labour; in order, ſaid he, that "you may bring me a child, who will neither weep nor make wry "faces. The princeſs had fortitude enough, in the midſt of her "pains, to keep her word, and ſang a ſong in Bearnois, her own "country language. As ſoon as Henry entered the chamber, the "child came into the world without crying; his grandfather imme-"diately carried him to his own apartment, and there rubbed his "little lips with a clove of garlic, and made him ſuck ſome wine "out of a gold cup, to make his conſtitution ſtrong and vigorous." Perefixe's hiſtory of Henry the great, p. 1. Cayet, vol. I. book i. p. 241.

‡ "This young prince, when he was only thirteen years of age, "had judgment enough to obſerve faults in the conduct of the prince "of Condé, and the admiral Coligny. It was his opinion, and a "very judicious one, that at the great ſkirmiſh at Loudun, if the "duke of Anjou had had troops in readineſs to attack them, he "would have done it: that he did not do it, but choſe to retire, "was a proof of his being in a weak condition, and therefore they "ought to have attacked him; this they neglected, and by that means "gave time for all his troops to join him. At the battle of Jarnac, "he repreſented to them with equal ſtrength of judgment, that "they had not a favourable opportunity for fighting, becauſe the "forces of the princes were diſperſed, and thoſe of the duke of Anjou "all joined: but they were too far engaged to retire. At the battle "of Moncontour, when he was but ſixteen years of age, he cried "out, We loſe our advantage, and conſequently the battle." Pere-fixe, ibid.

war, which have ſo highly diſtinguiſhed him among other princes. Vigorous and indefatigable by the education of his infancy *, he breathed nothing but labour, and ſeemed to wait with impatience for oc-

* "He was brought up in the caſtle of Coaraſſe in Bearn, ſituated "amidſt rocks and mountains. Henry d'Albert, his grandfather, "would have him cloathed and fed like other children in that coun-"try. They even accuſtomed him to run up and down the rocks. "It is ſaid, that his ordinary food was brown bread, beef, cheeſe, "and garlick; and that they often made him walk barefoot and "bareheaded." Pereſixe, ibid.

While he was in the cradle, he was called prince of Viane. A little time after, they gave him the title of duke of Beaumont, and after that prince of Navarre. The queen of Navarre his mother took great care of his education, and appointed La Gaucherie, a very learned man, but a ſtrict Calviniſt, for his preceptor.

"While he was yet a child, he was preſented to Henry II. who "aſked him if he would be his ſon: He is my father, replied the "little prince in Bearnois, pointing to the king of Navarre. Well, "ſaid the king, will you be my ſon-in-law then? Oh, with all my "heart, anſwered the prince. From that time, his marriage with "the princeſs Margaret was reſolved upon. At Bayonne the duke "of Medina, looking at him earneſtly, ſaid, This prince either will, "or ought to be an emperor." Cayet, vol. I. b. i. p. 240.

In the Memoirs of Nevers we meet with ſome letters written in 1567, by the principal magiſtrates of Bourdeaux, that contain ſeveral very intereſting particulars concerning the perſon and manners of young Henry. "We have here, ſays one, the prince of Bearn; it "muſt be confeſs'd, that he is a charming youth. At thirteen years "of age, he has all the riper qualities of eighteen or nineteen: he "is agreeable, polite, obliging, and behaves to every one with an "air ſo eaſy and engaging, that wherever he is, there is always a croud. "He mixes in converſation like a wiſe and prudent man, ſpeaks al-"ways to the purpoſe, and when it happens that the court is the "ſubject of diſcourſe, 'tis eaſy to ſee that he is perfectly well ac-"quainted with it, and never ſays more nor leſs than he ought, in "whatever place he is. I ſhall all my life hate the new religion for "having robb'd us of ſo worthy a ſubject." And in another, "His "hair is a little red, yet the ladies think him not leſs agreeable on "that account: his face is finely ſhap'd, his noſe neither too large "nor too ſmall, his eyes full of ſweetneſs, his ſkin brown but clear, "and his whole countenance animated with an uncommon vivacity: "with all theſe graces, if he is not well with the ladies, he is ex-"tremely unfortunate." Again, "He loves diverſions and the "pleaſures of the table. When he wants money, he has the addreſs "to procure it in a manner quite new, and very agreeable to others "as well as himſelf; to thoſe, whether men or women, whom he "thinks his friends, he ſends a promiſſory note, written and ſigned "by himſelf, and intreats them to ſend him back the note, or the "ſum mentioned in it. Judge, if there is a family that can refuſe "him:

caſions of acquiring glory. The crown of France not being yet the object of his aſpiring wiſhes, he indulged himſelf in forming ſchemes for the recovering that of Navarre, which Spain had unjuſtly uſurped from his family; and this he thought he might be enabled to perform, by maintaining a ſecret intelligence with the Moors in Spain †. The enmity he bore to this power, was open and declared; it was born with him, and he never condeſcended to conceal it. He felt his courage enflamed at the relation of the ‡ battle of Lepanto, which was fought at that time; and a like opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf againſt the infidels became one of his moſt ardent wiſhes. The vaſt and flattering expectations which the aſtrologers agreed in making him conceive, were almoſt always preſent to his mind. He ſaw the foundation of them in that affection which Charles IX. early entertained for him, and which conſiderably increaſed a ſhort time before his death: but animated as he was with theſe happy preſages, he laboured to ſecond them only in ſecret, and never diſcloſed his thoughts to any perſon but a ſmall number of his moſt intimate confidents.

In order to form a juſt idea, either of the general ſtate of affairs in the government of France, or of thoſe of the young prince of Navarre, and what he might have to hope or fear in the times of which we are ſpeaking, 'tis neceſſary to give a ſummary relation of the different ſteps taken by the miniſtry, both before and after the death of the § king of Na-

" him: every one looks upon it as an honour to have a note from " this prince," &c. Vol. II. p. 586.

† My ewe, ſaid Henry d'Albert, has brought forth a lion. And added from a ſecret preſage, This child will revenge me on Spain for the injuries I have received from her. Peref. ibid.

‡ Gained this year againſt the Turks by Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon to Charles the fifth. He was generaliſſimo of the Spaniſh and Venetian troops.

§ Antony de Bourbon, huſband of Jane d'Albert queen of Navarre. He turned catholick. M. de Thou relates an anecdote of him, which we cannot do better than give in the words of the author of the

varre his father, ſlain before Rouen. I ſhall go back therefore, to the rupture that kindled the war between Henry II. and Philip II. of Spain. To which ſide ſoever it owed its riſe, the event was not ſo favourable to France, as convenient for the views of the two men who adviſed it. Theſe were the conſtable † de Montmorency, and the duke ‡ de Guiſe, who hoped theſe troubles would furniſh them with the means of reciprocally ſupplanting each other. In this war there was ſufficient employment for both. The duke of Guiſe, at the head of a powerful army, paſſed into Italy, where he performed nothing worthy his reputation. But the conſtable was ſtill more unſucceſsful: the moſt diſtinguiſhing poſt, which was the command of the army in Flanders, he reſerved for himſelf, and loſt St. Quentin, with the battle of that name, where he was taken priſoner. This defeat was followed by that of the marechal Thermes at Gravelins ‖.

Henriade. "Francis de Guiſe did deſign to aſſaſſinate him in "the chamber of king Francis II. Antony de Navarre had a great "deal of courage, though his judgment was weak; he was informed "of the plot, yet went reſolutely into the chamber where it was to "be executed. If they murder me, ſaid he to Reinſy, one of his gen-"tlemen, take my bloody ſhirt, and carry it to my wife and ſon: "that will teach them what they ought to do to revenge me. Fran-"cis the ſecond durſt not ſtain himſelf with this crime; and the "duke of Guiſe at leaving his chamber, exclaimed, What a poor "king have we!"

† Anne, conſtable of Montmorency. He received a wound at the battle of St. Denis, October 10, 1567, of which he died.

‡ Claude de Lorrain, a ſtem of the houſe of Guiſe in France, had ſix ſons, Francis, duke of Guiſe; Charles, archbiſhop of Rheims, called cardinal of Lorrain; Claude, duke of Aumale; Lewis, cardinal of Guiſe; Francis, grand prior; and René, marquis d'Elbœuf. Francis the eldeſt, is he whom the author here mentions. He married Anne d'Eſt, and was murdered in 1563, with three poiſoned balls, by the hand of John Poltrot de Meri, a gentleman of Angoumois. Poltrot impeached the admiral, the count de la Rochefoucault, and Theodore de Beze, as accomplices in his crime; but afterwards varying in his accuſations, the admiral was declared innocent. His titles were, duke of Guiſe and Aumale, prince of Joinville, knight of the order of the king, peer, grand maſter, grand chamberlain, and grand huntſman of France.

‖ Paul de la Berts, lord of Thermes, marechal of France.

THE

THE duke of Guiſe ſaw all his wiſhes compleated by theſe unfortunate events. He was recalled from Italy, to be placed ſingly at the head of the council and armies, with which he acquired Calais to France. The conſtable in his priſon felt all the force of this blow; and being reſolved to go and defend his rights at any price, he treated of a peace with Spain. It was not indeed an honourable one for the king his maſter, but it releaſed him from captivity. The death of king Henry II. entirely ſunk his credit §. This prince was ſlain in the midſt of the magnificent rejoicings on account of his daughter's marriage with the king of Spain, which was the ſeal of the peace. Francis II. who ſucceeded him, was young, weak and infirm: he had married the niece * of the duke of Guiſe, and that nobleman became in his turn the ſole governor of the king and kingdom. The proteſtants could not have fallen into the hands of a more cruel enemy. He was buſied in forming vaſt projects, and meditating the ſtrangeſt cataſtrophes in France, when he himſelf experienced the viciſſitudes of fortune. A ſudden death, occaſioned by a pain in his ear †, deprived him of Francis II. The reign of Charles IX. his brother, yet an infant, was ſingular in this, that the authority ſeemed to be equally divided amongſt the queen-mother, the princes of the blood, the conſtable, and the duke of Guiſe. Each of them in ſecret ſupported a party of his own. The good deſtiny of the duke of Guiſe placed him a ſecond time at the head of affairs, by the union that Catherine made with him. Upon this union ſhe even founded the principal part of her politics; and 'tis pretended,

§ Struck in the eye with a ſplinter of a lance in a tournament, where he ran againſt the count de Montgomery, July 10, 1559.

* Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, daughter of James V. king of Scotland, and of Mary of Lorrain, of the houſe of Guiſe.

† The abſceſs that he had in this part turning to a mortification, he died the 5th of December, 1560. No more was needful to raiſe a ſuſpicion of his being poiſoned.

the

the hatred ſhe began to ſhew towards the princes of Bourbon, had a great ſhare in it: this averſion aroſe from her having taken it into her head, upon the faith of an aſtrologer, that none of the princes her ſons ſhould have iſſue, in which caſe the crown muſt paſs to a branch of the houſe of Bourbon. She could not reſolve to ſee it go out of her family, and therefore deſtined it to the poſterity of her ‡ daughter, who was married to the duke of Lorrain. Whatever there may be in this predilection of the queen-mother ‖, it is certain, ſhe gave birth to two parties in politics as well as religion, which began from that moment to fill the kingdom with confuſion, horror, and the moſt dreadful calamities.

THIS dreadful tempeſt ſeemed ſolely formed to burſt upon the head of the young prince of Navarre. The § king of Navarre, his father, was juſt then dead: his death, indeed, left a prince and a king to be head of the reformed religion in France: but this prince was a child of ſeven years of age, and the mark at which all the blows of the new council were aimed, who acted in concert with the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and all the catholics of Europe. In effect, this party experienced the moſt cruel reverſes of fortune; yet, by the wiſe conduct of its chiefs, and the early talents of young

‡ Claude of France, the ſecond of three daughters, which Catherine de Medicis had by her marriage with Henry II. She married the duke of Lorrain, and had children by him.

‖ M. L'Abbé le Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, aſſigns another reaſon for queen Catherine's hatred to the king of Navarre: he declares he read in theſe memoirs, that this prince and the duke d'Alençon being priſoners together, they plotted to ſtrangle the queen-mother with their own hands, when ſhe came into their chamber. This deſign was not executed through the horror they themſelves felt at the fact; and the king of Navarre afterwards but ill concealing the ſecret, Catherine de Medicis was to the laſt degree enraged againſt him.

§ The author is miſtaken in placing the death of Antony king of Navarre in 1560; it did not happen till 1562, by a wound he received at the ſiege of Rouen. See his character and eulogium in the Memoirs of Brantome, vol. III. p. 242.

Henry,

Henry, it ſupported itſelf with glory till the peace of 1570, at which period theſe Memoirs commence.

PRINCE Henry made uſe of the quiet that was given him, to viſit his eſtates, and his government of Guyenne; after which he came and ſettled in Rochelle, with the queen of Navarre his mother, the admiral de Coligny *, and the principal chiefs of the proteſtant party, to whom this important city, far diſtant from the court, ſeemed moſt advantageous for the intereſt of their religion. A very wiſe reſolution, had they been capable of adhering to it conſtantly.

QUEEN Catherine diſſembled the trouble this conduct gave her, and during the whole year 1571, ſpoke only of faithfully obſerving the treaties, of entering into a cloſer correſpondence with the proteſtants, and carefully preventing all occaſions of rekindling the war. This was the pretence of the marechal de Coſſé's deputation, whom ſhe ſent to Rochelle with Malaſſize and La Proûtiere †, maſters of requeſts, her creatures and confidents; but the true motive was to obſerve all the ſteps of the calviniſts, to ſound their inclinations, and draw them inſenſibly to an entire confidence in her, which was abſolutely neceſſary to her deſigns; and ſhe forgot nothing on her ſide that was capable of inſpiring it. The marechal de Montmorency ‡ was ſent to Rouen with the preſident de Morſan ‖, to do juſtice there for the outrages committed againſt the huguenots; any infringements of the treaty of peace were ſeverely puniſhed; and king Charles uſually called it his treaty, and his peace. This prince would on all occaſions artfully inſinuate, that he conſented to this peace, in order to ſupport the princes of his

* Gaſpard de Coligny, lord of Châtillon-ſur-Loing, admiral of France.

† Philip Gourau de la Proûtiere.

‡ Francis de Montmorency, eldeſt ſon of Anne, conſtable of Montmorency, died in 1579.

‖ Bernard Prevot, lord of Morſan.

blood

blood againſt the too great authority of the Guiſes, whom he accuſed of conſpiring with Spain to throw the kingdom into confuſion §. Theſe noblemen ſeemed daily to decreaſe in favour; and their complaints, whether true or falſe, gave all imaginable colour to this report. Charles did not even make the leaſt difficulty of advancing as far as Blois and Bourgueil, to confer with the proteſtants, who for their deputies had named * Téligny, ſon-in-law to the admiral, Briquemaut, Beauvais-la-Nocle, and Cavagne; and theſe four deputies, when they went afterwards to Paris, were loaded with preſents and civilities.

The marechal de Coſſé did not fail to give weight to theſe appearances of ſincerity: having by that means inſinuated himſelf, he began to confer in earneſt with the queen of Navarre on the ſcheme of marrying the prince her ſon to the princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to the king of France; and was commiſſioned by Charles to promiſe a portion of four hundred thouſand crowns. For the † prince of

§ Charles IX. had a natural averſion to the duke of Guiſe. He was ſo offended at his having demanded the princeſs Margaret his ſiſter in marriage, that ſpeaking on this ſubject one day to the grand prior of France, natural ſon of Henry II. he ſaid, ſhewing him two ſwords, "Of theſe two ſwords that thou ſeeſt, there is one of them "to kill thee, if to-morrow at the chace thou doſt not kill the duke "of Guiſe with the other." Theſe words were repeated afterwards to the duke of Guiſe, who quitted his purſuit. F. Matthieu, book vi. p. 333. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that Charles IX. purſued the duke of Guiſe one day with a javelin in his hand, and ſtruck it forcibly into a door, at the ſame moment that the duke came out of it, for having, in playing, touched him with a file. Ibid. 376.

* Charles, lord of Téligny in Rouergue, Montreuil, &c. married to Louiſa de Coligny. He had ſomething ſo ſweet and amiable in his countenance, that at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, thoſe perſons who were firſt ſent to aſſaſſinate him, ſtopped as in ſuſpence, and had not reſolution enough to ſtrike the blow. Francis Briquemaut, John de Laſin, called Beauvais-la-Nocle, to diſtinguiſh him from Philip de Laſin his eldeſt brother. The author wrote Tavannes, but we muſt read Cavagne. Arnaud de Cavagne was a counſellor of the parliament of Toulouſe.

† Henry the firſt, prince of Condé: Mary of Cleves, marchioneſs d'Iſle, related to the Guiſes, and brought up in the court of the queen

Condé, he propoſed the third heireſs of Cleves, a very conſiderable match; and the ‡ counteſs d' Entremont for the admiral de Coligny, whom he rightly judged would be more difficult than all the others to be perſuaded: to this laſt article, therefore, he added a nuptial preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns, which the king engaged to give the admiral, together with all the benefices his brother the cardinal had enjoyed ‖. The marechal de Biron § was ſent to confirm theſe ſhining offers, and entirely gained the queen of Navarre, by feigning to impart to her in confidence the ſuſpicions which were entertained at court, that Philip II. king of Spain had poiſoned the queen his wife, Elizabeth of France *,

queen of Navarre. She had no children by her huſband, who afterwards married Charlotte Catherine de la Trimouille.

‡ Jaqueline de Montbel, only daughter of Sebaſtian, count of Entremont, widow of Claud Batarnai, lord of Anton, who was killed at the battle of St. Denis. The duke of Savoy detained her ſome time in his dominions, but ſhe eſcaped, and came to Rochelle to marry the admiral. His firſt wife was Charlotte de Laval.

‖ Odet de Châtillon, cardinal biſhop of Beauvais, abbot of St. Benoit ſur Loir, &c. He was made a cardinal at ſixteen years of age; and although he was degraded from this dignity by pope Pius the fourth, he was publicly married in the habit of a cardinal to Elizabeth de Hauteville, a lady of Normandy, to whom he gave the title of counteſs of Beauvais, and as ſuch ſhe took rank at the public ceremonies. In 1564, he was accuſed of high treaſon before the parliament of Paris. He died in the beginning of the year 1571, at Southampton in England, whither he was ſent during the war, to ſupport the intereſts of the calviniſts with queen Elizabeth; and after the peace he was commiſſioned by the king to treat of a marriage between this princeſs and the duke of Alençon. 'Tis certain, though d'Aubigné takes no notice of it, that his valet de chambre poiſoned him with an apple, as he was preparing to return to France, being recalled by the admiral his brother. Thuanus, lib. 50.

D'Aubigny adds, that the admiral was in reality put in poſſeſſion of great part of theſe benefices, and enjoyed them during the ſpace of a year; and that Charles the ninth gave him alſo a hundred thouſand francs, to purchaſe furniture for his houſe of Châtillon. D'Aubigny's hiſtory, vol. II. book i. chap. 1.

§ Armand de Gontault de Biron, marechal of France.

* Eldeſt daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis. Moſt of the French hiſtorians are of this opinion. The Spaniards attribute her death to bleeding, and medicines, that the phyſicians, not knowing that ſhe was with child, made her take. She died a little time after, in 1568.

who

who had been falſly accuſed of an intrigue with the infant Don Carlos. At the ſame time he told her, under an injunction of ſecrecy, that the court being reſolved to revenge this injury, would carry the war into Flanders and Artois, the reſtitution of which would be demanded from the king of Spain, as being ancient fiefs of the crown, like that of Navarre; and that they would commence hoſtilities by ſuccouring Mons, which the prince of Orange had juſt taken from the Spaniards †.

To compleat all he added, that the king had fixed upon the admiral to command his army, with the title of viceroy of the Low-Countries: and he was actually at that time permitted to nominate the general officers that were to ſerve under him, as a little while before he had done the commiſſioners of the peace. The report of this expedition into the Low-Countries ſpread ſo far, that it is certain the grand ſeignor offered the king of France his gallies and troops to make a diverſion, and to facilitate the conqueſt. With regard to the queen of England, nothing was omitted that was neceſſary to be done on this occaſion. Montmorency was ſent ambaſſador thither, with inſtructions to uſe every method, by which he might gain the princeſs, and prevail upon her to chuſe one of the king's brothers for a huſband. A marriage, which, they ſaid, would alike ſtrengthen the union of the two religions, and the two powers.

THIS conduct, ſo full of ſeeming frankneſs, might have been ſuſpected by its exceſs; yet it had the deſigned effect, and the diſcourſe of the courtiers did not a little contribute towards it. The deſire of breathing the air of a gay and magnificent court, and of enjoying the honours that were prepared for them, ſerved more than any thing elſe to baniſh

Don Carlos, prince of Spain, whom Philip II. his father alſo put to a violent death.

† William of Naſſau, prince of Orange.

their

their ſcruples. ‡ Beauvais, Bourſaut, and Francourt, were the firſt who ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded, and they made a point of it afterwards to perſuade others. Some hints for a journey to Paris had been already thrown out; theſe three perſons ſtrongly ſupported that deſign, and repreſented to the queen of Navarre, that if ſhe refuſed to go upon this occaſion, ſhe would not only give offence to the king, but loſe all the advantage of this favourable ſituation of her affairs. At firſt ſhe doubted, and continued irreſolute during ſome months, but yielding about the end of the year 1571, preparations for the journey were made the beginning of 1572, and the time of their departure fixed the month of May following.

THE huguenots, one would imagine, affected to cloſe their eyes, that they might not ſee a thouſand circumſtances, ſufficient to make the ſincerity of ſuch great promiſes ſuſpected. The king and queen could not ſo well diſſemble, but that they ſuffered their real ſentiments to be ſometimes gueſſed at. It was known, that Charles had one day ſaid to Catherine, "Do I not play my part well?" To which ſhe anſwered, "Very well, my ſon, but you muſt "hold out to the end." Something alſo had taken air, relating to the reſult of the conferences held at Bayonne ‖, between the courts of France and Spain.

‡ ------ Beauvais, governor to the prince of Navarre. Gervais Barbier, lord of Francourt, chancellor to the king of Navarre.

‖ In 1564, the queen mother, after having travelled through great part of the kingdom, advanced almoſt to Bayonne, where ſhe had many private conferences with the duke d'Albe, who had attended the queen of Spain thither. There were appearances ſufficient to make it probable, that the ſubject of theſe conferences was an alliance between the pope, France, and the houſe of Auſtria, and the means by which they ſhould extirpate the proteſtant party: but there is no certainty, that the deſign of the maſſacre of Bartholomew, which was not executed till ſeven years after, was formed there. Matthieu tells us, that the prince of Navarre being then a child, and almoſt continually with Catherine de Medicis, heard ſomething of the plot to exterminate all the heads of the proteſtant party: he gave notice of it to the queen his mother, and ſhe to the prince of Condé and the admiral,

The king of Navarre had been very ill received in his government of Guyenne: Bourdeaux had ſhut its gates againſt him; and the marquis de Villars*, who commanded the royal army there, would neither draw off his troops, nor permit them to receive orders from the prince. In Rochelle, they were ignorant that the king had actually a naval force over all the coaſt, which they ſuppoſed had been deſtined for Holland. The citizens had moreover diſcovered the artifices which Strozzy†, La Garde, Landſac, and Landereau, had made uſe of to gain the cuſtody of their gates, and to ſeize their city. In fine, while they boaſted of their exactneſs in maintaining the treaty of peace in its full extent, it was but too plain, that a great number of injuries were offered to the proteſtants, which the court either authorized, or diſſembled the knowledge of. The chancellor de l'Hopital ‡ being inclined to puniſh the aggreſſors at Rouen, Dieppe, Orange, &c. this was the cauſe, together with his refuſing to ſeal the revocation of an edict of pacification, that he was baniſhed from court‖. Without all theſe inſtances of treachery, the huguenots, one would imagine, were ſufficiently warned by the knowledge they had of Catherine's temper, as well as that of her ſon. Could they flatter themſelves that this

admiral, and the rage this inſpired them with, carried them to the enterprize at Meaux. Hiſt. of France, vol. I. p. 283.

* Honorat, a baſtard of Savoy, marquis of Villars.

† Philip Strozzy: the baron de la Garde, called captain Polin: Lanſac the younger, brother of Lewis de Luſignan of St. Gelais, lord of Lanſac: and Charles Rouhault, lord of Landereau, who commanded this fleet.

‡ Michael de l'Hopital, chancellor of France. The ſeals were taken from him, and given to John de Morvilliers. He died in 1573.

‖ I ſuppreſs two reaſons drawn from the canons of the council of Conſtance and Trent, from whence the author infers, that the pope, the biſhops, &c. did not think themſelves obliged to keep their word with heretics. M. Fleury, and our moſt learned eccleſiaſtical critics, have fully juſtified the conduct of the firſt of theſe councils, with regard to John Hus and Jerome of Prague; and the good faith of the ſecond towards the proteſtants.

prince,

prince, naturally furious, and vindictive, would forget the attempt at Meaux*, the invaſion of Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Lyon, &c. Havre given up by the huguenots to the Engliſh, foreigners introduced into the heart of the kingdom, ſo many battles, ſo much blood ſhed? Reaſons of ſtate, that phraſe ſo familiar with ſovereigns, that under the diſguiſe of policy they may ſatisfy their perſonal reſentment, and other paſſions, will ſcarce permit them to ſuffer their ſubjects to engage in ſuch enterprizes with impunity. Catherine, to that time, had always perſiſted to impute the death of her huſband to them, which ſhe could never pardon, no more than their having treated the whole family of Medicis like the enemies of Chriſt. Nor was there leſs imprudence in truſting the Pariſians, whoſe animoſity and fury againſt the huguenots had broke out again, in the affair of the croſs of Gatine†.

* In the year 1567, the prince of Condé, and the admiral de Coligny, formed the deſign of ſeizing Charles IX. at Meaux, where he then was, and from whence the queen-mother made him ſet out precipitately at night, to return to Paris. This deſign would have been executed, but for the ſeaſonable arrival of three thouſand Swiſs, who covered the king in his march, and the calviniſts durſt not attack him. See the hiſtorians.

† The following is the fact, as it is related by M. de Thou, book i. anno 1571. Philip Gatine, a rich merchant of St. Denis-ſtreet, having ſome years before been convicted of lending his houſe to the huguenots, to ſerve them for a church, he was, by the parliament of Paris, condemned to be hanged or burnt the 30th of July. His houſe was demoliſhed, and in its place a pillar was erected, in the form of a croſs, which was afterwards called the croſs of Gatine. With the edict of pacification, paſſed in the year 1570, the calviniſts obtained, that this croſs ſhould be thrown down, which after ſome delay was at laſt executed; but it occaſioned ſuch violent tumults amongſt the populace, that the council was obliged to ſend ſome troops thither, under the command of the duke de Montmorency. Felibien, in the ſecond volume of his Hiſtory of the City of Paris, ſays, that this croſs was replaced at the entry of the church-yard of the Innocents, after the iron plate, upon which the decree of the parliament was engraved, had been taken away; and it is ſtill to be ſeen there. Sauval, vol. II. book viii. of the Antiquities of Paris, mentions the place where this houſe ſtood, in the ſtreet of St. Denis, over-againſt the ſtreet of the Lombards, where indeed there is a hollow in the ground, which poſſibly might be the foundation of Gatine's houſe.

From

From all this, my father conceived ſuch ſtrong apprehenſions, that when the report of the court of Navarre's journey to Paris firſt reached him, he could not give credit to it. Firmly perſuaded, that the preſent calm would be of ſhort continuance, he made haſte to take advantage of it, in order to ſhut himſelf up immediately with all his effects in Rochelle, when every one elſe talked of nothing but leaving it. The queen of Navarre herſelf informed him more particularly of this deſign ſoon after, and requeſted him to join her in her way to Vendome. My father prepared to go; and being deſirous of taking me with him, he ordered me ſome days before his departure, to attend him in his chamber, and no one being preſent but la Durandiere, my preceptor, he thus ſpoke to me: "Maximilian, "ſince cuſtom does not permit me to make you the "principal heir of my eſtates, to ballance this diſ-"advantage, I will endeavour to enrich you with "virtues; by means of which, I hope, as hath "been predicted to me, you will one day diſtinguiſh "yourſelf. Prepare, therefore, to ſupport with "fortitude whatever difficulties you may meet with "in the world, and by nobly ſurmounting them, "procure the eſteem of all good men, particularly "that of the maſter to whom I am deſirous of giving "you, and in whoſe ſervice I recommend to you to "live and die. I am going to Vendome, to meet "the queen of Navarre, and the prince her ſon; "diſpoſe yourſelf to accompany me, and when I "preſent you to him offer him your ſervice; and, "that you may expreſs yourſelf gracefully, ſtudy "a little ſpeech for that purpoſe." Accordingly I attended him to Vendome*. He found there a ge-

* Francis de Bethune, the author's father, followed the prince of Condé to the battle of Jarnac, and was there taken priſoner. An indictment of high treaſon was made out againſt him, for having borne arms againſt his Majeſty, and his eſtates were ſeized, but were reſtored to him at the peace. Du Cheſne.

neral

neral ſecurity, and an air of ſatisfaction on every face, which in public he durſt not object to; but whenever he had an opportunity of converſing in private, either with the queen, the prince, the admiral, the counts Ludovic § and Rochefoucault, and the other proteſtant lords, he very freely told them, he was ſurpriſed that they had ſo ſoon forgot the many occaſions that had been given them for well-grounded apprehenſions; that from a reconciled enemy, exceſſive promiſes and civilities were no leſs ſuſpicious, and much more dangerous, than open menaces and declared hatred: that it was hazarding ſtill more, to expoſe a young prince, too little guarded againſt the allurements of pleaſure, to the attractions of the moſt voluptuous court in the world. He repreſented to them, that inſtead of dreaming of an alliance ſo unhappy as that muſt neceſſarily be, between this prince and a princeſs who profeſſed a different religion, they ought rather to have endeavoured to marry him to the queen of England, who might have aſſiſted him in his attempts to recover the crown of Navarre, and poſſibly, as occaſions offered, that of France likewiſe. He had ſo ſtrong a foreboding of the fatal conſequences of this French match, that he often ſaid, if the nuptials were celebrated at Paris, the bridal favours would be crimſon. This prudent advice was looked upon to be the effect of weakneſs and timidity. My father, not willing to appear wiſer than ſo many perſons of more diſtinguiſhed underſtandings, ſuffered himſelf, contrary to his opinion, to be driven with the torrent, and only demanded time to put himſelf into a condition of appearing with that ſplendor his rank required, in a court where every thing was magnificent. For this purpoſe, he again took the road to Roſny; but before he went, he preſented

§ Or Lewis of Naſſau, brother to William Prince of Orange. Francis, count of Rochefoucault, and prince of Marſillac, ſlain in the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew.

me

me to the prince of Navarre, in the preſence of the queen his mother, and, in my name, gave him aſſurances of an inviolable attachment; which I confirmed with great boldneſs, putting one knee to the ground. The prince raiſed me immediately, and after twice embracing me, had the goodneſs to commend the zeal which my family had always diſcovered for him, and, with that engaging air ſo natural to him, promiſed me his protection; a promiſe I at that time regarded as a mere effect of his complaiſance, but which I have ſince ſeen accompliſhed far beyond my hopes and merit. I did not return with my father to Roſny, but went to Paris in the queen of Navarre's train. As ſoon as I arrived, ſenſible of the neceſſity my youth had of inſtruction, I applyed myſelf cloſely to my ſtudies, without neglecting, however, to make my court to the prince my maſter. I lived with a governor and valet de chambre, at a diſtance from the court, in a quarter of Paris, where almoſt all the colleges ſtood, and continued there till the bloody cataſtrophe, which happened a ſhort time after.

NOTHING could be more kind than the reception the queen of Navarre, her children, and principal ſervants met with from the king, and queen-mother, nor more obliging than their treatment of them; Charles IX. continually praiſing the virtues and good qualities of the count de la Rochefoucault, de Téligny, Reſnel *, Beau-diſner, Piles, Pluviaut, Colombieres, Grammont, Duras, Bouchavannes, Gamache, my father, and other proteſtant lords. The admiral he always called father, and took upon himſelf the care of reconciling him with the princes

* Antony de Clermont, marquis of Reſnel; Galiot de Cruſſol, lord of Beau-diſner, brother to the duke d'Uzès; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, in Perigord; N— de Rochefort, lord of Pluviaut Claveau, a gentleman of Poitevin; Francis de Bricqueville de Colombiéres; Antony de Grammont, viſcount d'After; John de Durefort, viſcount Duras; Bayancort, lord of Bouchavanes; Nicholas Rouhaut, lord of Gamache.

of

of the houſe of Guiſe. To him alſo he granted the pardon of Villandry *, which he had denied to his own mother and his brothers, his crime being thought too great for forgiveneſs. When the admiral was wounded, the king, at the firſt news he heard of it, broke into oaths and threatenings; and declared, that the aſſaſſin † ſhould be ſought for in

* Villandry being one day at play with the king, was ſo raſh as to commit ſome offence againſt majeſty itſelf, for which he was ſentenced to be put to death. Davila, book v. See d'Aubigné, who relates this fact more particularly, vol. II. book i. ch. 2.

† He was called Nicholas de Louviers, lord of Maurevert in Brie. "Muſt I," ſaid Charles IX. throwing his racket at him in a rage, "be perpetually troubled with new broils? ſhall I never have any "quiet?" Many perſons have doubted, whether theſe threatenings of Charles, and his violent tranſports of rage, were not ſincere; and whether this prince, who had at firſt entered into all the deſigns of the queen his mother, did not ſuffer himſelf at laſt to be gained by the admiral de Coligny, in thoſe private converſations they had together, in which the admiral never ceaſed to repreſent to him the fatal conſequences of this princeſs's bad government, and to exhort him to ſhake off his dependance on her. Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, vol. II. p. 55. and 66, and many other writers of thoſe times, produce ſuch ſtrong proofs of this fact, that it is very difficult to decide upon the queſtion. If the Memoirs of Tavannes may be relied on, Charles IX. and his mother agreed ſo ill, that this princeſs ſaw no other means of preſerving her authority, which ſhe was upon the point of loſing, than by cauſing the admiral to be aſſaſſinated; and this writer pretends, that Maurevert was ſuborned, unknown to the king, to ſtrike the blow. On the other ſide, the hiſtorian Matthieu believes he has ſufficient reaſon to maintain, vol. I. book vi. that Charles IX. deceived the admiral from firſt to laſt. He relates, that this prince obſerving the oppoſition ſome of his counſellors gave to the deſign of extirpating the huguenots, repreſented to them in a rage, that the kingdom was loſt if their plot was not executed that ſame night, for a longer delay would put it out of their power to prevent the ſchemes the huguenots were forming; who, he told them, were well acquainted with their deſign. He added, that thoſe who did not approve of his reſolution, would never be conſidered by him as his ſervants.

But this hiſtorian does not perceive that a few pages after, he himſelf leſſens the weight of theſe proofs, by relating a converſation that paſſed between Henry III. and his phyſician Miron, in Poland; of which the following is an abridgment, for it is too long to be inſerted here at length. Henry III. then duke of Anjou, going, ſome days before the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, into the chamber of the king his brother, obſerved, that this prince looked upon him with eyes ſo full of rage, and ſuch indications of fury in his air, that apprehending the conſequence of theſe violent emotions, he ſoftly re-

the moſt ſecret receſſes of the palaces of the Guiſes. He made all the court, after his example, viſit the wounded perſon; and when the Guiſes came to in-

gained the door, and hurried immediately to give the alarm to the queen-mother. She, from what had happened to herſelf, being but too much diſpoſed to believe it, reſolved to get rid of Coligny without further delay. Maurevert having partly failed in his attempt, ſince he only wounded the admiral in the arm, the queen-mother and the duke of Anjou, finding they could not hinder the king from viſiting him, thought it neceſſary to accompany him, and, under pretence of ſparing the admiral's ſtrength, interrupted, as often as they could, the private converſation they held together. During this viſit, Catherine, who was ſurrounded with calviniſts, obſerved, that they frequently whiſpered to each other, and looked on her from time to time with very ſuſpicious eyes. This adventure, ſhe acknowledged, was the moſt dangerous of all ſhe had ever been engaged in. As they returned, ſhe preſſed the king ſo vehemently to tell her the ſubject of his private diſcourſe with the admiral, that this prince could not hinder himſelf from betraying it, by telling her, with his uſual oath, that ſhe ſpoiled all his affairs, or ſome words to that purpoſe. Catherine, now more alarmed than before, had recourſe to an artifice that ſucceeded. She told her ſon, that he was ready to fall into the ſnare the admiral had prepared for him; that he was upon the point of being delivered up to the huguenots, combined with foreigners; and had nothing to hope for from his catholic ſubjects, who, through diſguſt at finding themſelves betrayed, had choſen another leader. All the other counſellors, excepting only the marechal de Retz, ſeconded her arguments ſo ſtrongly, that Charles himſelf being ſeized with fear, and paſſing from one extreme to the other, was the firſt to reſolve, and even preſs, not only the murder of the admiral, but of all the huguenots; to the end, ſaid he, that there may not one be left to reproach me. All the reſt of that day, and the following night, they conſulted upon the means of executing this deſign. At break of day, Charles, the queen-mother, and the duke of Anjou, went to the gate of the Louvre, and hearing a piſtol go off, fear and remorſe ſeized them. The king ſent orders to the duke of Guiſe, to proceed no farther. To which the duke replied, his orders had come too late: and they recovering from their conſternation, joined in every thing that was afterwards performed.

'Tis poſſible, I think, to reconcile theſe different opinions, and preſerve to the proofs alledged on each part all their force, by ſaying, that Charles IX. who certainly invited the admiral to Paris with no other view than to have him murdered with the reſt of the huguenots, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhaken by his arguments; and that he embraced alternately propoſitions from each of the contending parties; and from their different reaſons, was thrown into a ſtate of irreſolution, from whence he was only freed by the natural impetuoſity of his diſpoſition, which Catherine well knew how to take advantage of. Coligny's ſecurity proceeded from his not being able to doubt the efficacy of his arguments on the mind of this prince; otherwiſe,

treat that he would condeſcend to hear their juſtification, he gave them a very unfavourable reception. The Spaniſh ambaſſador was on this occaſion ſo ill treated, that he thought fit to withdraw: nor could pope Pius V. eſcape the reſentment of Charles, he having refuſed to give the neceſſary diſpenſation for Henry's marriage with the princeſs Margaret, for which the moſt magnificent preparations were then making. The king carried his reſpect for this prince ſo far, as to diſpenſe with his going into the church of Notre-dame*, and even with obſerving any of the romiſh ceremonies. The cardinal de Bourbon† making ſome remonſtrances upon theſe tolerations, which to him ſeemed to exceed all bounds, was diſmiſſed with a ſevere reprimand; and when the queen of Navarre died, the whole court appeared ſenſibly

wiſe, it would not have been poſſible for Charles to have ſo long impoſed upon a man of the admiral's great prudence and ſagacity. A young king of three and twenty years of age, who till then had been almoſt always governed by others, was not capable of that deep policy which they have had the complaiſance to attribute to him: however, it muſt be confeſſed, that this young prince already carried diſſimulation to its utmoſt height, of which his having never diſcovered the ſecrets of his council, or thoſe of the admiral, to each other, although ſtrongly preſſed to it, is an inconteſtible proof.

* "The king, ſays le Grain, was reſolved that the marriage ſhould "not be celebrated in a manner wholly conformable to neither religion. Not to the calviniſt, becauſe the vows were to be received "by a prieſt, who was to be the cardinal of Bourbon; nor to the "romiſh, becauſe theſe vows were to be received without the ſacramental ceremonies of the church.

"A great ſcaffold was erected in the court before the principal "gate and entry of the church of Paris, on Monday Auguſt the "18th, 1572, upon which were betrothed and married on the ſame "day, and by a ſingle act, The moſt high, &c. This done, the "bridegroom retired to meeting to hear a ſermon, and the bride "went into the church to hear maſs, according to the articles of the "treaty of marriage; after which, they both came to the entertainment prepared for them in the great hall of the palace, &c." B. le Grain, Dec. of Henry the great, book ii.

Charles the ninth gave his ſiſter three hundred thouſand crowns for a portion; and the queen of Navarre yielded the Upper and Low Counties of Armagnac, &c. to her ſon at his marriage. F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi.

† Charles de Bourbon, cardinal, uncle to Henry IV.

affected, and went into deep mourning. In a word, it is not paſſing too harſh a cenſure upon this conduct of Catherine and her ſon, to call it almoſt an incredible prodigy of diſſimulation; ſince a man of the admiral de Coligny's great wiſdom fell into the ſnare, notwithſtanding a thouſand circumſtances concurred to make him apprehend the danger that was approaching: for it was loudly ſaid, that Genlis and La Noüe‖, who had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of the prince of Orange, were defeated with the connivance of the French court, which, whilſt uncertain of ſucceſs in the principal object of its diſſimulation, was not willing to hazard all the conſequences which that diſſimulation might produce.

THEY were alſo informed of the conferences which the queen-mother, and the principal miniſters, held with cardinal Alexandrin, nephew of pope Pius V. and with the Guiſes; who were twice diſcovered converſing in maſques with the king, the queen-mother, the duke de Retz§, and the chancellor de Birague*: this was ſufficient to ſhew what they ought to think of their pretended diſgrace. In the death of the queen of Navarre†, they perceived

‖ John d'Angeſt d'Ivoy, of the ancient houſe of Genlis. Francis de la Noüe, a gentleman of the greateſt reputation in the proteſtant party, and eſteemed even by the catholics themſelves. The admiral ſpeaking of this misfortune to Charles the ninth, attributed it to the ſecret being but ill kept in the council. Charles demanded of the duke of Albe, by Claude Mondoucet his reſident in the Low Countries, the French proteſtant gentlemen, who had been taken priſoners. De Thou, anno 1572, book li.

§ Albert de Gondy, duke of Retz, marechal of France.

* René de Birague, a Milaneſe, biſhop of Lavaur, afterwards cardinal. He was at that time only keeper of the ſeals, and was not made chancellor till the following year, after the death of the chancellor de l'Hôpital. See his elogium in the negociations of Buſbeq. Aug. Giſt. Buſbequii Epiſ. 29. Of him it was ſaid, that he was cardinal without a title, chancellor without ſeals, and prieſt without a benefice.

† Her lodgings were in the palace of Charles Gaillart, biſhop of Chartres, a man violently ſuſpected of calviniſm. Soon after her return from Blois, whither ſhe had followed the court, ſhe was ſeized with a fever, and died on the fifth day of her illneſs. Many different opinions prevailed concerning the manner of her death. The Memoirs

plain indications of poiſon. It never was doubted, but that the wound the admiral received came from the houſe of Villemur, preceptor to the Guiſes; and the aſſaſſin was met in his flight, upon a horſe belonging to the king's ſtable. Even the guards that Charles † (under pretence of ſecuring the admiral's perſon from the like attempts) placed about him, were almoſt all his declared enemies; nor was it leſs certain, that all the citizens of Paris were furniſhed with arms, which by the king's order they kept in their houſes.

moirs of l'Etoile, d'Aubigné, and all the calviniſts, attribute it to poiſon, which they ſay was given her in a pair of gloves by a Florentine, named René, perfumer to the queen mother. De Serres, in his Memoirs, gives us to underſtand, that the phyſicians who opened her body, had orders not to touch her brain, which was ſuppoſed to be affected by the poiſon: but they are all contradicted by le Grain, and ſeveral others, who maintain, that ſhe died of a pleuriſy, occaſioned by her being over-heated in making preparations for the nuptials of her ſon: to which was added, the vexation ſhe conceived at being obliged to kneel to the holy ſacrament as it paſſed before her houſe on Corpus Chriſti day. La Popeliniere, Perefixe, and De Thou, endeavour to remove all ſuſpicions of poiſon. The laſt mentioned aſſures us, that Charles IX. ordered the head of this princeſs to be opened, as well as the reſt of her body; and if the phyſicians did not do it, it was becauſe they found the true cauſe of her death in an abſceſs ſhe had in her body. This is alſo the opinion of Matthieu the hiſtorian.

† This is all true, and proves that the queen-mother, and not the king, was the deſigner of this ſtratagem. 'Tis hard to ſay, what was her real intention by this ſtroke; whether ſhe ſought to get rid of a man who poſſeſſed too much power over the king's mind, and was capable of ruining her deſign of extirpating all the huguenots; or whether, if the admiral had died of this wound, ſhe would have confined her vengeance to his ſingle death; or laſtly, whether ſhe expected the noiſe of this aſſaſſination would excite the calviniſts in Paris to revolt, and by that means furniſh her with the occaſion ſhe wanted to fall upon them, for which her party was already prepared. In the council, many expedients to give a pretence for attacking them were propoſed; amongſt others, the aſſault of an artificial fort built in the Louvre, which would afford them an opportunity of turning the feigned ſlaughter into a real one againſt the huguenots; at laſt, they reſolved to put them all to the ſword in the night.

The admiral lodged in the ſtreet Betiſy in an inn, which is called at preſent the Hotel S. Pierre. The chamber where he was murdered is ſtill ſhewn there.

THE moſt clear-ſighted amongſt the huguenots, yielding to proofs ſo convincing, quitted the court, and Paris itſelf, or at leaſt lodged in the ſuburbs. Of this number were Meſſ. de Langoiran‖, de Frontenay, the viſcount de Chartres, de Loncaunay, de Rabodanges, du Breüil, de Segur, de Sey, du Touchet, des Hayes, de Saint Gelais, de Chouppes, de Beauvais, de Grandrie, de Saint Eſtienne, d'Arnes, de Boiſſec, and many other gentlemen of Normandy and Poitou. Happily my father was one of thoſe, whoſe life was preſerved by a wiſe and prudent diſtruſt. When he was preſſed to come nearer the court, he replied, that he found the air of the ſuburbs agreed better with his conſtitution, and that of the fields was ſtill more advantageous for it. When they were informed that the biſhop of Valence*, in taking leave of the king for his ambaſſy to Poland, had penetrated into the ſecret, and been indiſcreet enough to reveal it to ſome of his friends, and that they had intercepted letters ſent to Rome by the car-

‖ N—— de Montferrant, baron of Langoiran. John de Rohan, lord of Frontenay. John de Ferrieres, viſcount of Chartres. N —— de Loncaunay, a gentleman of Normandy, ſlain in the battle of Yvry, at ſeventy years of age. N—— de Rabodanges. In the manuſcripts in the king's library, N° 8699. p. 31, may be ſeen the original of a letter of Charles the ninth to M. de Rabodanges, dated from St. Maur, May 6, 1566, which begins thus, "Monſieur de Rabo-"danges, I know with what fidelity you have acted on occaſion of "the commiſſion which I delivered you ſome time ago, to puniſh the "vagabonds and robbers of your country."

N—— de Segur de Pardaillan. N—— de Touchet, a gentleman of Normandy, near Domfront. N—— des Hayes Gaſque. Guy de Luſignan of St. Galais, ſon to Lewis lord of Lanſac. Peter de Chouppes. John de la Fin, lord of Beauvais la Nocle. Peter de Grandrie, ſteward in ordinary of the king's houſhold, &c. All theſe perſons earneſtly preſſed the admiral to leave Paris: "By doing ſo," he replied, "I muſt ſhew either fear or diſtruſt. My honour would be "injured by the one, by the other the king. I ſhould be again obli-"ged to have recourſe to a civil war; and I would rather die than "ſee again the miſeries I have ſeen, and ſuffer the diſtreſs I have al-"ready ſuffered." Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. p. 343.

* Jean de Montluc, biſhop of Valence.

dinal

dinal de Pellevé*, in which he unfolded the whole myſtery to the cardinal de Lorrain; it was then that theſe gentlemen renewed their intreaties to the king of Navarre, that he would either leave Paris, or permit them to retire to their own houſes. To this advice the prince oppoſed that which had been given him by a great many other perſons, and ſome even of the proteſtant party; for where are not traitors to be found? They warned him to be cautious, they told him the names of all thoſe who had been gained by the queen-mother to deceive him. He liſtened to no h.ng. The admiral† appeared no leſs incredu'ous: his bad deſtiny began by blinding him to lead him to his ruin. It would have been happy, if he had acted with the ſame prudence that the marechal de Montmorency did; who could never be drawn from Chantilly, notwithſtanding repeated invitations from the king, who preſt him to come and partake his favour with the admiral, and be near his perſon, to aſſiſt him with his advice.

If I was inclined to increaſe the general horror, inſpired by an action ‡ ſo barbarous as that perpe-

* Nicolas de Pellevé, cardinal, archbiſhop of Rheims, paſſionately devoted to the league. Charles, cardinal of Lorrain.

† It has been ſaid, that all the great actions which the admiral Coligny performed in his life, were againſt his God, h.s religion, his country, and his king; how much is it to be lamented, that he did not employ his talents more uſefully! All the hiſtorians agree in ſaying, he was the moſt conſummate politician, and greateſt warrior that ever appeared. 'Tis thought that it was in conſequence of the advice he gave to the prince of Orange, that the Low Countries rebelled againſt Spain, maintained the war during ten years, and formed the plan of a repu'lic, which in part ha: ſucceeded. It is alſo believed, and not without probability, that he would have made a like attempt in France. In Villeroi's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 322. 340. he is accuſed with great violence, but he always ſteadily denied, particularly in his laſt will, his ever having any intention of attempting the perſon of the king. See his elogium, and political deſigns in Brantome, vol. III. De Thou, and the other hiſtorians.

‡ What M. de Sully ſays of the maſſacre ought not to be thought too ſevere: "An execrable action, cries Perefixe, that never had, "and I truſt God never will have, it's like." Pope Pius V. was ſo much afflicted at it, that he ſhed tears; but Gregory XIII. who ſucceeded him, ordered a public thankſgiving to God for this maſſacre to

trated on the 24th of Auguſt, 1572, and too well known by the name of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, I ſhould in this place enlarge upon the num-

be offered at Rome, and ſent a legate to congratulate Charles IX. and to exhort him to continue it. The following is a ſhort account of this maſſacre: All the neceſſary meaſures having been taken, the ringing of the bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, for matins, was the ſignal for beginning the ſlaughter. The admiral de Coligny was firſt murdered, in the midſt of his ſervants, by Beſmes, a French gentleman, and a domeſtic of the duke of Guiſe; the duke himſelf, and the chevalier de Guiſe ſtaying below in the court. His body was thrown out of the window. They cut off his head, and carried it to the queen-mother, together with his box of papers; among which, 'tis ſaid, they found the memoirs of his own times, compoſed by himſelf. After they had offered all ſorts of indignities to the bleeding carcaſe, it was hung on the gibbet of Montfaucon, whence the marechal de Montmorency cauſed it to be taken down in the night, and buried at Chantilly. The whole houſe of Guiſe had been perſonally animated againſt the admiral, ever ſince the aſſaſſination of Claude duke of Guiſe, by Poltrot de Meré, whom they believed to have been incited to this crime by him; and 'tis certain, the admiral was never able to clear himſelf of this imputation. If this cruel ſlaughter (as many people are fully perſuaded) was only an effect of the Guiſe's reſentment, who adviſed the queen-mother to it with a view of revenging their own injuries; it muſt be confeſſed, that no particular perſon ever drew ſo ſevere a vengeance for an offence. All the domeſtics of the admiral were afterwards ſlain; and the ſlaughter was at the ſame time begun by the king's emiſſaries in all parts of the city. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of the calviniſts that periſhed, were Francis de la Rochefoucault, who having been at play part of the night with the king, and finding himſelf ſeized in bed by men in maſques, thought it was the king and his courtiers, who came to divert themſelves with him. Antony de Clermont, marquis de Reſnel, was murdered by his own kinſman Lewis de Clermont, of Buſſy d'Amboiſe, with whom he was then at law for the marquiſate of Clermont. Charles de Quellenec, baron of Pont in Bretagne, whoſe dead body excited the curioſity of the ladies of the court, on account of a proceſs carried on by his wife, Catherine de Parthenay, daughter and heireſs of John de Soubize. Francis Nonpar de Caumont, was murdered in his bed, betwixt his two ſons; one of them was ſtabbed by his ſide, but the other, by counterfeiting himſelf dead, and lying concealed under the bodies of his father and brother, eſcaped. Téligny, ſon-in-law to the admiral; Charles de Beaumanoir de Lavardin; Antony de Marafin, lord of Guerchy; Beaudiſner, Pluviaut, Berny, du Briou, governor to the marquis of Conti; Beauvais, governor to the king of Navarre; Columbieres, Francourt, &c. The count of Montgomery was purſued by the duke of Guiſe as far as Montfort l'Amaury. The king pardoned the viſcounts of Grammont and Duras, and Gamache and Bouchavannes: the three brothers of the marechal de Montmorency were alſo ſpared, through fear that he might

ber, the quality, the virtues, and great talents of thoſe who were inhumanly murdered on this horrible day, as well in Paris as in every part of the kingdom: I ſhould mention at leaſt the ignominious treatment, the fiendlike cruelty, and ſavage inſults theſe miſerable victims ſuffered from their butchers, and which in death were a thouſand times more terrible than death itſelf. I have writings ſtill in my hands, which would confirm the report of the court of France having made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the neighbouring courts to follow its example with regard to the proteſtants, or at leaſt to refuſe an aſylum to thoſe unfortunate people; but I prefer the honour of the nation to the ſatisfying a malignant pleaſure, which many perſons would take in lengthening out a recital, wherein might be found the names of thoſe who were ſo loſt to humanity, as to dip their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and even their own relations. I would, were it in my power, for ever obliterate the memory of a day that divine vengeance made France groan for, by a continual ſucceſſion of miſeries, blood, and horror, during ſix and twenty years; for it is not poſſible to judge otherwiſe, if one reflects on all that paſſed from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598. 'Tis with regret that I cannot omit what happened upon this occaſion to the prince, who is the ſubject of theſe Memoirs, and to myſelf.

I WAS in bed, and awaked from ſleep three hours after midnight, by the ſound of all the bells, and the confuſed cries of the populace. My governor St. Julian, with my valet de chambre, went haſtily out to know the cauſe; and I never afterwards heard more of theſe men, who without doubt were amongſt the firſt that were ſacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber dreſ-

might hereafter revenge their death. See the hiſtorians and other writers, and that fine deſcription of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, by M. de Voltaire in his Henriade, Canto ſecond.

ſing myſelf, when in a few moments I ſaw my landlord enter, pale, and in the utmoſt conſternation: he was of the reformed religion, and having learned what the matter was, had conſented to go to maſs, to ſave his life, and preſerve his houſe from being pillaged. He came to perſuade me to do the ſame, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him, but reſolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I had ſtudied: though the great diſtance between the houſe where I then was, and the college, made the attempt very dangerous. Having diſguiſed myſelf in a ſcholar's gown, I put a large prayer-book under my arm, and went into the ſtreet. I was ſeized with horror inexpreſſible, at the ſight of the furious murderers; who running from all parts, forced open the houſes, and cried aloud, "Kill, kill, maſſacre the huguenots:" the blood which I ſaw ſhed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midſt of a body of guards; they ſtopped me, interrogated me, and were beginning to uſe me ill, when, happily for me, the book that I carried was perceived, and ſerved me for a paſſport. Twice after this I fell into the ſame danger, from which I extricated myſelf with the ſame good fortune. At laſt I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger ſtill greater than any I had yet met with, waited me. The porter having twice refuſed me entrance, I continued ſtanding in the midſt of the ſtreet, at the mercy of the furious murderers, whoſe numbers increaſed every moment, and who were evidently ſeeking for their prey, when it came into my mind to aſk for La Faye, the principal of this college, a good man, by whom I was tenderly beloved. The porter, prevailed upon by ſome ſmall pieces of money which I put into his hand, admitted me; and my friend carried me to his apartment, where two inhuman prieſts, whom I heard mention Sicilian veſpers, wanted to force me from him, that they might cut me in pieces, ſaying

the order was, not to ſpare even infants at the breaſt. All the good man could do, was to conduct me privately to a diſtant chamber, where he locked me up. Here I was confined three days, uncertain of my deſtiny; and ſaw no one but a ſervant of my friend's, who came from time to time to bring me proviſions.

At the end of theſe three days, the prohibition for murdering, and pillaging any more of the proteſtants, being publiſhed, I was ſuffered to leave my cell; and immediately after I ſaw Ferriere and la Vieville, two ſoldiers of the guard, who were my father's creatures, enter the college. They were armed, and came, without doubt, to reſcue me by force wherever they ſhould find me. They gave my father a relation of what had happened to me; and eight days afterwards I received a letter from him, in which he expreſſed the fears he had ſuffered on my account, and adviſed me to continue in Paris, ſince the prince I ſerved was not at liberty to quit it. He added, that to avoid expoſing myſelf to an evident danger, it was neceſſary I ſhould reſolve to follow that prince's example, and to go to maſs. In effect, the king of Navarre had found no other means of ſaving his life. He was awaked, with the prince of Condé, two hours before day, by a great number of ſoldiers, who ruſhed boldly into a chamber, in the Louvre, where they lay, and inſolently commanded them to dreſs themſelves, and attend the king. They would not ſuffer the two princes to take their ſwords with them; who, as they paſſed, beheld ſeveral of their gentlemen * maſſacred before their eyes. The king waited for them, and received them with a countenance and

* James de Segur, baron of Pardaillan, a Gaſcon; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, a Perigordin, &c. Gaſton de Levis, lord of Leyran, took refuge under the queen of Navarre's bed, who ſaved his life. Some perſons were ſent to Châtillon, to ſeize Francis de Châtillon the admiral's ſon, and Guy d'Andelot's ſon, but they both eſcaped, and fled to Geneva. Armand de Gontault de Biron was ſaved by fortifying himſelf in the arſenal.

eyes in which fury was viſibly painted: he ordered them, with oaths and blaſphemies, which were familiar with him, to quit a religion that had been only taken up, he ſaid, to ſerve them for a cloak to their rebellion. The condition to which theſe princes § were reduced, could not hinder them from diſcovering that they ſhould obey him with grief. The king, tranſported with anger, told them, in a fierce and haughty tone, "That he "would no longer be contradicted in his opinions "by his ſubjects; that they, by their example, "ſhould teach others to revere him as the image of "God, and ceaſe to be enemies to the images of "his mother." He ended by declaring, that if they did not go to maſs, he would treat them as criminals guilty of treaſon againſt human and divine majeſty. The manner in which theſe words were pronounced, not ſuffering the princes to doubt if they were ſincere, they yielded to neceſſity, and performed what was required of them. Henry was obliged even to ſend an edict into his dominions, by which the exerciſe of any other religion but the Romiſh was forbid. Tho' this ſubmiſſion preſerved his life, yet in other things he was not better treated; and he ſuffered a thouſand capricious inſults from the court: free by intervals, but more often cloſely confined, and treated as a criminal, his domeſtics ſometimes permitted to attend him, then all on a ſudden not ſuffered to appear.

As for me, I employed this leiſure in the moſt advantageous manner I was able. I had it no longer in my choice to proſecute my ſtudy of the learned

§ As Henry went to the king, Catherine gave orders that they ſhould lead him under the vaults, and make him paſs through the guards drawn up in files on each ſide, in menacing poſtures. He trembled and recoiled two or three ſteps back, when immediately Nançai-la-Chatre, captain of the guards, endeavoured to remove his apprehenſions, by ſwearing they ſhould do him no hurt. Henry, tho' he gave but little credit to his words, was obliged to go on amidſt the carabines and halberts. Perefixe's hiſtory of Henry the great.

languages,

languages, nor of whatever is called learning: this application, which my father had ſtrongly recommended to me, became impracticable from the moment I lived in the court. It was with regret that I parted with an excellent preceptor, to whoſe care he had intruſted my education; he himſelf perceiving he could be no longer uſeful to me, aſked leave to retire. From his hands I paſſed into thoſe of a man named Chrétien, whom the king of Navarre kept in his train, and who was ordered by him to teach me mathematics and hiſtory; two ſciences that ſoon conſoled me for thoſe I renounced, becauſe I felt an inclination for them, which I have ever ſince preſerved: the reſt of my time was employed in learning to write and read well, and in performing all thoſe exerciſes that give eaſe and gracefulneſs to the perſon. It was in theſe principles, to which a ſtill greater attention to form the manners was joined, that that method of educating youth conſiſted, which was known to be peculiar to the king of Navarre, for he himſelf had been brought up in that manner. I continued to follow it till I was ſixteen years of age, when the ſituation of affairs throwing both him and me into the tumults of arms, from which we had no hope of being freed, to theſe exerciſes thoſe only that related to war ſucceeded; which I began by learning to ſhoot, and renounced all others. In ſuch circumſtances all that a young man can do, is to improve his morals, if he cannot his genius; for even the hurry and confuſion of arms offer excellent ſchools of virtue and politeneſs to him that is deſirous of profiting by them: but miſerable, and that during his whole life, is he, who engages in a profeſſion ſo fatal to youth, without having ſtrength or inclination to reſiſt bad examples: though he ſhould have the good fortune to preſerve himſelf from being tainted with any ſhameful vice, how will he be able to inſtruct and fortify his heart in theſe principles, which wiſdom dictates as well to a private man as a

prince,

prince, but by making virtue habitual by practice? ſo that any good action may never become painful, and that, if reduced to a neceſſity of ſaving all by a crime, or loſing all by a virtuous action, he may find his duty and inclination the ſame.

It was not long before Charles felt the moſt violent remorſe for the barbarous action to which they had forced him to give the ſanction of his name and authority. From the evening of the 24th of Auguſt, he was obſerved to groan involuntarily at the recital of a thouſand ſtrokes of cruelty, which every one boaſted of in his preſence. Of all thoſe who were about the perſon of this prince, none poſſeſſed ſo great a ſhare of his confidence, as Ambroſe Paré, his ſurgeon. This man, though a huguenot, lived with him in ſo great degree of familiarity, that, on the day of the maſſacre, Charles telling him, the time was now come when the whole kingdom would be catholics; he replied without being alarmed, "By the light of God, ſire, I cannot believe that "you have forgot your promiſe never to command "me to do four things, namely, to enter into my "mother's womb, to be preſent in the day of bat-"tle, to quit your ſervice, or to go to maſs." The king ſoon after took him aſide, and diſcloſed to him freely the trouble of his ſoul: "Ambroſe, ſaid he, "I know not what has happened to me theſe two or "three days paſt, but I feel my mind and body as "much at enmity with each other, as if I was ſeized "with a fever: ſleeping, or waking, the murdered "huguenots ſeem ever preſent to my eyes, with "ghaſtly faces, and weltering in blood. I wiſh the "innocent and helpleſs had been ſpared." The order which was publiſhed the following day, forbidding the continuance of the maſſacre, was in conſequence of this converſation.

The king hoped to retrieve his honour, by publicly diſavowing all that had been done. In the letters patent which he ſent into the provinces, he threw

threw all upon the Guiſes, and would have had the maſſacre paſs for an effect of their hatred to the admiral. The private letters he wrote on this ſubject to England, Germany, Switzerland, and other neighbouring ſtates, were all conceived in the ſame terms.

It is not to be doubted, but the queen-mother, and her council, made the king comprehend the bad conſequence of ſo formal a diſavowal; for, at the end of eight days, his ſentiments and language were ſo much changed, that he went to hold his bed of juſtice in the parliament, and ordered other letters patent to be regiſtered, which declared, that nothing was acted on the 24th of Auguſt but by his expreſs commands *, and to puniſh the huguenots; to each of the principals of which party a capital crime was imputed, in order, if poſſible, to give the name and colour of a juſt execution to that deteſtable butchery. Theſe letters were addreſſed to the governors of provinces, with orders to publiſh them, and purſue the reſt of the pretended guilty. I ought here to make honourable mention of the counts de Tende ‖, and

* Nothing is more certain, than that he was ſeen with a carabine in his hand during the maſſacre, which, 'tis ſaid, he fired upon the calviniſts that were flying. The laſt marechal de Teſſé, in his youth, was acquainted with an old man of ninety years of age, who had been page to Charles IX. and often told him, that he himſelf had loaded that carabine. 'Tis alſo true, that this prince went with his court to view the body of the admiral, which hung by the feet with a chain of iron to the gallows of Montfaucon; and one of his courtiers obſerving it ſmelt ill, Charles replied, as Vitellius had done before him, "The body of a dead enemy always ſmells well." Theſe two anecdotes I relate after the author of the Henriade, in his notes, p. 32 and 37.

‖ Claude de Savoy, count of Tende, ſaved the lives of all the proteſtants in Dauphiny. When he received the king's letter, by which he was directed to deſtroy them, he ſaid, That could not be his majeſty's order. Eleonor de Chabot, count of Charny, lieutenant general in Burgundy: there was only one calviniſt murdered at Dijon. Francis de Mandelot, governor of Lyon: he was reſolved to ſave the proteſtants, nevertheleſs they were all maſſacred in the priſons where he had put them for ſecurity. He is ſaid, by M. de Thou, to have only feigned ignorance of this barbarity. Bertrand de Simiane, lord of Gordes, a man in great eſteem. N--- de S. Heran de Montmorin,

de Charny; of meſſieurs de Mandelot, de Gordes, de Saint Heran, and de Carouge, who boldly refuſed to execute ſuch orders in their governments. The viſcount d'Ortez, governor of Baïonne, had reſolution enough to anſwer Charles IX. who wrote to him with his own hand, "That on this point he "muſt not expect any obedience from him."

THE number of proteſtants maſſacred, during eight days, over all the kingdom, amounted to ſeventy thouſand. This cruel blow ſtruck the party with ſuch terror, that believing itſelf wholly extinct, nothing was talked of but ſubmitting, or flying into foreign countries. A bold and vigorous ſtroke for once broke this reſolution. * Renier, a gentleman of the reformed religion, having by a kind of miracle eſcaped out of the hands of the lord de Vezins, his moſt cruel enemy, ſaved himſelf, with the viſcount de Gourdon, and about eighty horſe, and came to Montauban. He found this city under ſuch a conſternation, and ſo little in a condition to defend itſelf againſt the troops of Montluc †, who were approaching, that, having ventured to adviſe the inhabitants to hold out, he himſelf had like to have been delivered up to Montluc; which obliging him to leave Montauban precipitately, his little troop fell in with a ſquadron of 450 horſe, belong-

rin, governor of Auvergne: he poſitively refuſed to obey, unleſs the king was preſent in perſon. Tanneguy le Veneur, governor of Normandy, an honeſt humane man; he did all that lay in his power to preſerve the proteſtants at Rouen, but he was not maſter of it. N--- viſcount d'Ortez, governor of all that frontier. See his anſwer to the king. "Sire, I have communicated your majeſty's orders to "your faithful inhabitants, and to the troops in the garriſon; I "found there good citizens, and brave ſoldiers, but not one execu- "tioner." &c. De Thou, book lii. and liii. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. &c.

* Here is an error in the Memoirs of Sully: it was Vezins himſelf, a man of great honeſty, but of harſh manners, that ſaved the life of Renier, whoſe enemy he had a long time been, and ſtill continued to be, notwithſtanding this action. See this remarkable hiſtory in M. de Thou, book lii.

† Blaiſe de Muntluc, marechal of France.

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ing to the army of Montluc; and, being deſirous of dying nobly, performed ſuch wonderful acts of valour, that they were all cut in pieces. Renier returned to Montauban with this good news; he was now obeyed, and they ſhut the gates upon Montluc. This reſiſtance, and the reſolution of Montauban ſpreading about, thirty towns followed its example, and behaving in a manner the proteſtants had not dared to hope for, obliged the catholics to keep themſelves upon the defenſive.

THE catholics immediately turned all their forces againſt Rochelle and Sancerre, which, taking advantage of the general fear, they had inveſted. Theſe enterprizes did not ſucceed: Sancerre, after having ſuffered all the horrors of a famine, of which no hiſtory can furniſh us with examples, at laſt concluded a ſort of treaty with the beſiegers; but Rochelle held out, and baffled all the duke of Anjou's efforts †, who had in perſon come to beſiege it. The election for the throne of Poland happened very opportunely to ſave the honour of this prince; and by a treaty, in which Nîmes and Montauban were comprehended, Rochelle preſerved all its privileges: and theſe were the only cities which kept entire all the advantages of the laſt edicts.

TIME alſo produced other favourable conjunctures for the calviniſts. The queen-mother, of all her children, felt only a true affection for the duke of Anjou. The departure of this prince for Poland gave her as much grief as it occaſioned joy to his two brothers, king Charles and the duke of Alen-

† The marechal de Montluc, in his Cammentaries, finds great fault with the conduct of this ſiege, that they did not ſend troops enough, carried on the aſſaults improperly, hazarded too much, and ſuffered victuals to be brought into the place by ſea; however, he ſays, it would have been taken at laſt. He adviſed the queen-mother, from the time ſhe went to Baïonne, to take poſſeſſion of this city: it would have ſaved France both men and money had this advice been followed. See a relation of the ſieges of Rochelle, and Sancere, in d'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. La Popeliniere, book xxxiii. and Matthieu, vol. I. p. 340. and other hiſtorians.

çon; the laſt of whom, by his brother's removal, becoming duke of Anjou, began to entertain great hopes of the crown of France, when he reflected that Charles had no children, and that his weak ſtate of health was changed into a mortal diſeaſe. The oppoſition he thought there was reaſon to apprehend the queen-mother would give to his deſign, wholly alienated his affections from her. This princeſs, by beſtowing her confidence on a ſmall number of foreigners of mean birth, who governed her finances, had made the greateſt part of the nobility almoſt as diſcontented as the duke of Alençon: He privately fomented this revolt, and perſuaded them to apply to the proteſtants for aſſiſtance, in whoſe diſgrace they partook. To ward off this blow, and at once to gratify the duke of Anjou, and her tenderneſs for the king of Poland, ſhe began from that moment to think in earneſt of marrying the firſt of theſe princes to the queen of England, and of procuring for him the ſovereignty of the Low Countries: but his diſcontent had already produced its effect.

CHARLES, through another motive, joined in his brother's reſentment againſt the queen their mother. The diſeaſe with which he found himſelf attacked, began at Vitry, whither he had accompanied the king of Poland, in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to have the pleaſure of ſeeing him leave his kingdom. The condition to which he ſoon ſaw himſelf reduced, gave birth to a thouſand ſuſpicions againſt Catherine in his mind; ſo that, uniting his intereſt with that of the proteſtants, he began to ſhew them a great deal of favour. This principally appeared in his permitting them, notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by the queen-mother, to ſend deputies to court, to declare their grievances, and propoſe their demands. Theſe deputies meeting with others, who came from the catholic provinces, who had been prevailed upon by the diſcontented

lords

lords to demand the ſuppreſſion of certain new taxes, and a diminution during ten years of the old, they joined each other. The memorial indeed which contained their demands was ſigned only by four or five gentlemen, but the terms in which it was conceived, ſhewed the moſt immovable ſteadineſs in a party that ſeemed to derive new ſtrength even from its loſſes. The queen-mother was violently enraged at it; but the king not ſuffering her to exert any authority upon this occaſion, all ſhe could do was to make uſe of delays till the death of this prince, which ſhe foreſaw was not far diſtant. The proteſtants penetrated into her deſigns; and, that they might not be prevented, appeared ſuddenly in arms. This was called the rebellion of Shrove Tueſday, becauſe they poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral towns on that day *. Montgomery † returned from England to Normandy, where he fortified himſelf. The queen-mother, and the whole court, was then at St. Germain-en-Laye. She was reſolved, at leaſt, to take ſuch meaſures, that the princes ſhould not eſcape; but the attempts that were every day made to get them out of her power, did not a little embarraſs her. Guitry ‡ and Buhy came one day to St. Germain to carry them away by force; the alarm was very great, but the conſpirators not having ſufficiently ſecured the ſucceſs of their deſign, Catherine had time to fly with the princes to Paris; where ſhe beheaded Coconnas § and la Mole, the contrivers of the plot, and impri-

* Fontenay, Luſignan, Melle, Pons, Tonnay-Charente, Talmont, Rochefort, Oriol, Livron, Orange, and other Places in Poitou, Languedoc, Dauphiny, &c.

† Gabriel, count of Montgomery, the ſame that wounded Henry II.

‡ John de Chaumont, marquis of Quitry or Guitry: Peter de Mornay, lord of Buhy, brother of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay. See an account of this enterprize in the life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, book i. p. 26.

§ Joſeph Boniface de-la-Mole; Hanibal, count of Coconnas; a Piedmonteſe. "La Mole and Coconnas were beloved by two great "princeſſes, [the queen of Navarre and the dutcheſs of Nevers] love "and jealouſy brought them both to deſtruction." Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 75.

ſoned

ſoned the marechals de Montmorency and de Coſſé. She afterwards placed guards about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou, and ſent ſoldiers to Amiens to arreſt the prince of Condé, who was there ſtrictly watched, and bring him to Paris. The prince was informed of it, and diſguiſing himſelf, deluded his ſpies, and the third time happily eſcaped to Germany; where, upon his arrival, he was declared generaliſſimo of the proteſtant troops in France.

THE queen-mother took a reſolution to ſend all her forces againſt the huguenots immediately. They were divided into three armies: Matignon ‖ led the firſt into Normandy, where Montgomery, having only two or three * inconſiderable forts in his poſſeſſion, was ſoon defeated, and obliged to deliver himſelf up to this marechal, who carried him to Paris, where he was beheaded. The ſecond, commanded by the duke de Montpenſier †, went to inveſt Fontenay, and afterwards Luſignan, which he took, notwithſtanding the bravery with which the viſcount de Rohan defended. The prince ‡ Dauphin, who commanded the third, took likewiſe ſome ſmall places

‖ James de Matignon, marechal of France: he died in the year 1597. This nobleman, for his great qualities, deſerves all the praiſes that M. de Thou has given him, particularly for his inviolable attachment to the perſon of his king; a virtue in thoſe times very uncommon. De Thou, book lxvi.

* Theſe were Carentan, Valogne, Saint Lo, and Domfront. In this laſt he was taken fighting like a man in deſpair. D'Aubigné, who was himſelf a zealous proteſtant, cannot certainly be ſuſpected of partiality upon this queſtion relating to the promiſe given to the count by the marechal. "The place, ſays he, was taken, and life "was promiſed to all but the count, to whom artful aſſurances were "given, that he ſhould not be delivered into any other hands than "the king's. This I am convinced of, notwithſtanding the con-"trary has been written. France is guilty of but too many per-"juries, there is no occaſion to invent any to charge her with," &c. vol. II. book ii. chap. vii. Montgomery ſubmitted to his fate like a hero. De Thou, Brantome, &c.

† Francis of Bourbon. This branch of Montpenſier deſcended from a Lewis of Bourbon, ſecond ſon of John II. of Bourbon.

‡ Francis of Bourbon, ſon to the duke of Montpenſier, bore this title. Memoirs of Brantome, vol. III. p. 301.

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in Dauphiny; but having ſat down before Livron, ſhamefully raiſed the ſiege. All was ſuſpended on account of the king's death, which happened this year on Pentecoſt day. This prince died at the caſtle of Vincennes, in the moſt exquiſite torments, and bathed in his own blood. The cruel maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day was always in his mind; and he continued to the laſt, by his tears and agonies, to ſhew the grief and remorſe he felt for it §. The cardinal of Lorrain ‖ died alſo on the 23d of December, this year, in the pope's territories; a day made remarkable by the moſt terrible ſtorm that ever was known.

THE king of Poland was informed of his brother's death in thirteen days, and the night after the news was brought him, he ſtole out of the court and fled. In his journey he viſited the emperor Maximilian, and Charles duke of Savoy, and took his route thro' Venice *. In all theſe places, they gave him advice

§ He ſent for the king of Navarre, in whom only he acknowledged to have found faith and honour, and moſt affectionately recommended to him his wife and daughter. Perefixe. A little before he expired he ſaid, he was glad he had left no children, who would have been too young to govern the ſtate in ſuch difficult times. Montluc, De Thou, and almoſt all the hiſtorians agree in ſaying, that if he had lived he would have been a very great prince. He poſſeſſed, and in a great degree, courage, prudence, eloquence, œconomy, and ſobriety: he loved polite literature and learned men; but he was choleric and a great ſwearer. He was but twenty-five years of age when he died. Many contuſions were found in his body. De Thou. However, there were no proofs found of his being poiſoned, as the author of the Legend of Claude duke of Guiſe ſays he was. His death proceeded from violent exerciſes, to which he was very much addicted, and a great quantity of bile, that often made his eyes look quite yellow. His ſtature was tall, but he was not ſtrait, his ſhoulders were bent, his legs thin and weak, his complexion pale, his eyes ghaſtly, and his countenance fierce. See F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. and the life of this prince written in Latin by Papire Maſſon.

‖ Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, archbiſhop of Rheims. See his character in the third book of Brantome's Memoirs. He died, ſays he, at Avignon by poiſon, if we may give credit to the Legend of St. Nicaiſe, p. 138, and moſt piouſly, according to Matthieu, who wrote his eulogium, vol. I. book vii. p. 407.

* The reader may conſult Matthieu, vol. I. upon the departure of Henry III. of Poland, and the particulars of his journey.

equally

equally wiſe and conformable to his intereſts, which was, to grant the proteſtants peace, and the free exerciſe of their religion; but, inſtead of complying with it, he immediately upon his arrival in France broke the truce that had been granted to them for three months, and changed it, at the ſolicitations of the queen-mother, into a declaration of war againſt the whole party; to which a great number of catholics had lately joined themſelves, out of affection to the marechal de Damville †, who had been diſtinguiſhed by the impriſonment of his brother.

The king went in perſon to lay ſiege a ſecond time to Livron, which he was likewiſe obliged to raiſe; and brought nothing away with him, but the ſhame of finding himſelf inſulted from the top of the walls by the women, and even children, and hearing the moſt ſatirical and cutting reflections on the queen his mother. From this time he always appeared ſo different from what he had been when duke of Anjou, that it may be ſaid with reaſon, his ſhameful flight to Avignon was at once the æra of his ignominy, his kingdom's misfortunes, and his own. In his journey to Rheims, whither he went immediately after to be conſecrated, he conceived a paſſion for one of the daughters of the count de Vaudemont ‡, and married her.

It was fortunate for him, that the duke of Anjou was all this time cloſely confined; but after Henry's coronation, this prince, who again quitted his title to take that of Monſieur, enjoyed, as well as the king of Navarre, a little more liberty, which was increaſed or leſſened according to the reports that were brought of their correſpondence with the ene-

† Henry de Montmorency, duke of Damville, ſecond ſon of the conſtable Anne de Montmorency.

‡ Louiſa of Lorrain, daughter of Nicolas, duke of Mercœur, count of Vaudemont, and Margeret of Egmont, his firſt wife. Matthieu gives this princeſs great praiſes for her virtue and affection to her huſband. Vol. II. book iii. p. 438.

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mies of the queen-mother §. One of Catherine's other cares was to diſunite theſe two princes; which ſhe effected, by promiſing each of them ſeparately the poſt of lieutenant-general of the French armies, and by making uſe of ſuch means as ſeldom fail to ſucceed, intrigues of gallantry, and competitions in love. Notwithſtanding all her arts, Monſieur eſcaped at laſt: he deceived his guards, and fled in diſguiſe on the evening of the 17th of September. He no ſooner gained Dreux, than he ſaw himſelf attended by a numerous court, and at the head of a powerful party.

THE prince of Condé had laboured ſo effectually in Germany, that prince Caſimir was ſoon in a condition to enter France with a ſtrong army.

CATHERINE had now recourſe to other ſtratagems; ſhe endeavoured to regain Monſieur by the moſt ſpecious offers, and purſued him from city to city, always attended by a train of young and beautiful ladies, on whom ſhe relied ſtill more. In a word ‖, ſhe ſucceeded ſo well, that he fell at laſt into the ſnare ſhe laid for him.

THE king of Navarre, who had given credit to her promiſe of making him lieutenant-general, thought himſelf now ſecure of it, and rejoiced at firſt that he had got rid of Monſieur, whom he always looked upon as his rival; but the ladies de Carnavelet and de Sauves drew him out of his miſtake. They made him comprehend, that if one of them could pretend to this great employment, it would be

§ Henry III. hated Monſieur, on account of his having, as he ſuppoſed, attempted to poiſon him. He endeavoured to perſuade the king of Navarre to kill this prince, but was refuſed with horror. Henry III. being ill with a diſorder in his ear, the king of Navarre one day ſaid to the duke of Guiſe, whom he loved, "Our man is "very ill." The duke anſwered the firſt time, "It will be nothing." The ſecond, "We muſt think of it." And the third he ſaid to him, "I underſtand you, Sir;" and ſtriking the hilt of his ſword, "This, "added he, is at your ſervice." Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 418.

‖ They conferred together at Champigny-ſur-Vade, a houſe belonging to the duke of Montpenſier, upon the confines of Touraine.

Monſieur,

Monſieur, of whoſe reconciliation it would be made the price; but that in reality Catherine deceived them both, and that he in particular had nothing to expect but a more rigorous captivity. This opened the prince's eyes, and he now wholly applied himſelf to the recovery of his liberty. The means were offered him one day in the month of February, when he was hunting near Senlis *: his guards being diſperſed, he inſtantly paſſed the Seine at Poiſſy, gained Chateau-Neuf in Timerais, which belonged to him, where he took up ſome money of his farmers, and, followed only by thirty horſe, arrived at Alençon, which the lord de Hertray had ſeized in his name. There he had a conference with Monſieur and the prince of Condé, and they agreed to unite all their forces. From Alençon the king of Navarre went to Tours; where he no ſooner arrived, than he publicly reſumed the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion. I was one of thoſe who accompanied this prince in his flight, and during his whole journey. He ſent me from Tours with Fervaques †, to demand the princeſs his ſiſter of the court. She was delivered to us, and the ſecond day after, ſhe alſo reſuming her religion, heard ſermon in the calviniſt church at Chateaudun, and joined the king, who waited for her at Parthenay.

The three princes, after uniting their troops, found themſelves at the head of fifty thouſand effective men ‡, and made even Catherine tremble. A bloody war was now expected. I threw myſelf into the infantry, in the character of a volunteer, till an employment more ſuitable was given me. I made my firſt eſſay in arms in the neighbourhood of

* See an account of this in d'Aubigné, vol. II. chap. xviii. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 420, &c.

† William de Hautemer, count of Grancey, lord of Fervaques, &c. marechal of France, and lieutenant-general in Normandy. He died in the year 1613, aged ſeventy-five years. Madame Catherine of Bourbon, afterwards ducheſs of Bar.

‡ According to others 30,000 only.

Tours,

Tours, where ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between detachments from the different parties. The king of Navarre hearing that my behaviour had more of raſhneſs than courage in it, ordered me to be called, and ſaid to me, "Roſny, it is not here that I would "have you hazard your life; I admire your valour, "but I deſire you ſhould employ it on a better oc-"caſion." This occaſion was not ſo near as we believed, for Catherine finding herſelf deficient in ſtrength, had recourſe to her uſual artifices. She talked of peace; ſhe offered more than we thought we could demand; promiſes coſt this artful princeſs nothing. In a word, ſhe had addreſs enough to make the princes lay down their arms, and peace was concluded upon, and ſigned three months after. This was called Monſieur's peace §, for, beſides that Catherine's principal view in making it was to gain this prince, he was ſo much the dupe of her artifices, that at laſt he wiſhed for it, and ſolicited it more warmly than any other perſon. It muſt be confeſſed, it was a very advantageous one; however, the princes never committed a fault more irreparable than when they ſigned it.

To this Monſieur added a ſecond error as conſiderable againſt his own intereſt; he ſeparated from the proteſtants ‖, and by that means loſt opportunities both in France and England, of becoming one of the moſt powerful princes perhaps in Europe. Thus all things fell out agreeable to the queen-mo-

§ By the edict of ſixty-three articles, paſſed at the convent of Beaulieu near Loches in Touraine between the queen-mother and the princes, the memory of the admiral de Coligny and the other proteſtant chiefs was reſtored, chambers of juſtice, compoſed equally of proteſtants and catholics, were granted in the principal parliaments, and ſeveral citi s given for ſecurity. Monſieur procured alſo a large appennage for himſelf, and a conſiderable ſum in money and jewels for prince Caſimir. De Thou, d'Aubigné, &c.

‖ In reality Monſieur, on this occaſion, ſacrificed the king of Navarre and the huguenots to his intereſts, or his politics. In the memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 90. and following, may be ſeen all the ſteps taken by each party on occaſion of this treaty.

ther's wiſhes, who, in making this peace, had nothing in view but the diſunion of her enemies.

HENRY, upon the concluſion of the peace, retired to Rochelle, where the inhabitants, except that they offered him no canopy, paid him all the honours they could have done to the king. The catholic's in this prince's train did not meet with ſo favourable a reception. Caumont, afterwards duke of Epernon*, was not ſuffered to enter the city, nor any other whom they could prove had embrued his ſword in the bloody ſlaughter of the 24th of Auguſt.

THE King of Navarre ſtaid but a ſhort time in this city. As ſoon as he demanded the accompliſhment of the treaty, he became ſenſible of the great fault he had committed: the queen-mother denied ſhe had promiſed any thing to the proteſtants, who were obliged to take up arms again before the expiration of the year.

I NOW quitted my firſt poſt; M. de Lavardin†, my kinſman, who had a great affection for me, preſented me with a pair of colours in the company he commanded. I was appointed to defend Périgueux and afterwards Villeneuve, in Angenois, which was threatened with a ſiege. The king of Navarre had a deſign to undertake ſome conſiderable enterprizes, but the opportunity for them was loſt: the greateſt part of the troops upon which he relied, diſappointed him, and the reſt were in ſo bad a condition, that it was with difficulty he made two attempts, the one upon Réole, the other on St. Macary; in the laſt of which he failed. Favas‡, who conducted that of Réole, put me at the head of fifty ſoldiers, who entered it with very little danger. I demanded a like commiſſion of Langoiran, to whom the aſſault

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon. He will be mentioned hereafter.

† John de Beaumanoir de Lavardin or Laverdin, marechal of France.

‡ John Favas, called captain Favas.

of

of St. Macary was entruſted; he granted it, and joined my couſin Bethune with me: but Favas retained us in the ſecond troop. This I mention as an inſtance of the firſt good fortune I met with in war, for the inhabitants of St. Macary, having had notice of our deſign, received us ſo well, that not a man of the firſt troop, who had courage to enter, ever returned.

AT the ſiege of Ville-Franche, in Perigord, which was afterwards carried on by Lavardin, I was expoſed to a danger more conſiderable. During the aſſault, having mounted the walls with my colours, I was overthrown by the pikes and halberts into the ditch, where I lay ſunk in the mud, and ſo entangled with my colours, that had it not been for the aſſiſtance of la Trape, my valet de chambre, and ſome ſoldiers, who helped me to get up, I muſt infallibly have periſhed. The city being forced while they were parlying on the walls, it was given up to pillage. I gained a purſe of a thouſand crowns in gold for my ſhare, which an old man, who was purſued by five or ſix ſoldiers, gave me to ſave his life. The name of Ville Franche recalls to my memory a very ſingular adventure that happened ſome time after. The inhabitants of this town having formed the deſign of ſeizing upon Montpazier §, another little neighbouring town, by ſurprize, they choſe for the execution of it the very ſame night which the citizens of Montpazier had, without knowing any thing of the matter, pitched upon to make themſelves maſters of Ville-Franche. Chance ordered it ſo, that the parties taking different ways, did not meet; all was executed with ſo much the leſs difficulty, as the walls of both towns were wholly without defence. They pillaged, they glutted themſelves with booty, each thought himſelf happy till day appeared, and diſcovered the miſtake. They then came to a compoſition, every thing was

§ A town in Périgord, upon the confines of Quercy.

reſtored to its right owner, and they returned to their reſpective habitations. Such was the manner of making war in thoſe times; it conſiſted of ſeizing by artifice the towns and caſtles of the enemy, though often thoſe attempts produced very bloody engagements.

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that the king of Navarre was very indifferently ſerved: his army was almoſt equally compoſed of proteſtants and catholics, and he often ſaid, that his obligations were greateſt to the laſt, for they ſerved him diſintereſtedly, and through pure attachment to his perſon: but it was this medley of catholics and proteſtants that ruined his affairs. Meſſieurs de Turenne, de Montgomery, de Guitry, de Léſignan ‡, de Favas, de Pardaillan, and other principal proteſtants, had an invincible averſion to meſſieurs de Lavardin, de Mioſſens *, de Grammont, de Duras, de Saint Colombe, de Roquelaure, de Bogole, de Podins, and other catholic officers. This appeared, amongſt other occaſions, in an affair where I was concerned: an officer named Frontenac §, having treated me contemptuouſly on account of my youth, added, that the milk was not out of my noſe. I replied that I found myſelf ſtrong enough to draw blood from his with my ſword. This quarrel made a noiſe; and what was very extraordinary, though my antagoniſt was a catholic, and myſelf a proteſtant, yet the viſcount de Turrenne‖ promiſed him his aſſiſtance, and that of his proteſtant friends againſt me; which M. de Lavardin being informed of, he and his catholics offered their ſervices to me. The viſcount's hatred to me proceeded from my having taken Langoiran's part (to whom I was obliged) in a quarrel he had with that nobleman. M. de

‡ Lewis de Léſignan, of St. Gelais.
* Henry d'Albret, baron of Mioſſens.
§ Antony de Buade de Frontenac.
‖ Henry de la Tour, viſcount de Turenne, afterwards duke of Bouillon.

Turenne

Turenne expected, that wherever he and Langoiran were together, the latter ſhould receive orders from him as his general. Langoiran, who thought his birth equal to Turenne's, made a jeſt of his pretenſions; and adding ſome ſtrokes of raillery, ſpoke of Turenne as a bigot, who came over to the reformed, only becauſe Buſſy * had ſupplanted him in Monſieur's favour. When the quarrel was compoſed, I was adviſed to ſeek the friendſhip of Turenne. I complied, but he anſwered my firſt advances ſo ill, that I drew back, and we continued at a greater diſtance than ever.

THIS animoſity between the parties gave riſe to an oppoſition in the king of Navarre's councils, which blaſted many of his deſigns, and in particular that upon Marmande †. Lavardin having attacked it, contrary to the advice of la Nouë, and even of the king of Navarre himſelf, he cauſed ſeveral bodies, of a hundred arquebuſiers each, to advance, with orders to poſſeſs themſelves of the hollows and other advantageous parts near the walls of this city. The command of one of theſe bodies was given to me; and ſcarce had I poſted myſelf at about two hundred paces diſtant from the city, when I was attacked by a detachment of the beſieged three times ſuperior to mine in number: I entrenched my men, and being favoured by ſome houſes, we defended ourſelves a long time. The king of Navarre, who ſaw the danger to which we were expoſed, ran to us, covered only with a cuiraſs, fought the whole day, and gave us time to ſeize the deſtined poſts; but they were of little uſe to us, as we had not men enough to ſurround the city on all ſides; and the king of Navarre would have had the mortification of not being able to approach it, and of being under a ne-

* Lewis de Clermont de Buſſy d'Amboiſe, celebrated for his valour and perſonal accompliſhments. In an aſſignation he had ſome time after with the lady de Montſoreau, he was killed by her huſband and his domeſtics.

† In Agenois, upon the Garonne.

ceſſity of ſhamefully raiſing the ſiege, had not the arrival of the marechal de Biron, with propoſals for an accommodation, furniſhed him with an honourable pretence for withdrawing his troops.

A TRUCE only could be agreed upon, during which the king of Navarre went to Bearn, to viſit the princeſs his ſiſter, or rather the young Tignonville*, with whom he was in love. I was permitted to accompany him; and giving back my enſign's commiſſion to M de Lavardin, who beſtowed it upon young Bethune, my couſin, I quitted my equipage of war, and took one more ſuitable to the character I was now to appear in. My œconomy during three or four years, joined to my military profits, made my finances ſo conſiderable, that I ſaw myſelf now in a condition to entertain ſeveral gentlemen in my pay, with whom I attached myſelf ſolely to the perſon of the king. As I had no inclination to deſcend from this ſtation, I regulated my domeſtic affairs in ſuch a manner, that the king of Navarre, who was always attentive to the conduct of his officers, confeſſed to me afterwards, that I owed the greateſt part of that eſteem with which he honoured me, to the prudent œconomy he obſerved in this diſpoſition of my affairs. It was my youth only that made this conduct appear extraordinary, for I began early to be ſenſible of what advantage it is to preſerve an exact regularity in domeſtic concerns. Such a propenſity, in my opinion, is a very happy preſage, either for a ſoldier or a ſtateſman.

DURING our ſtay at Bearn, nothing was thought of but diverſions and gallantry. The taſte which Madame, the king's ſiſter, had for amuſements, proved an inexhauſtible ſource of them to us. Of this princeſs I learned the trade of a courtier, which

* This young lady was daughter to madam de Tignonville, governeſs to madame the king of Navarre's ſiſter, who in the court of Navarre was generally called mademoiſelle Navarre. Mademoiſelle Tignonville was afterwards married to the baron of Pangeas.

I was

I was yet unacquainted with. She had the goodneſs to make me one in all her parties; and I remember ſhe would teach me herſelf the ſteps of a dance in a ballet that was performed with the greateſt magnificence.

THE truce was now almoſt expired, and the king of Navarre, who had been informed that the city Eauſe*, excited by the mutineers, had refuſed to give entrance to a garriſon he ſent thither, ordered us to come, with our arms concealed under our hunting-habits, to a certain part of the country, where he himſelf waited for us. He arrived at the gates of this city before they could be advertiſed of his march, and entered it, without meeting with any reſiſtance, at the head of fifteen or ſixteen of his men, who had followed him cloſer than the reſt of the troop. As ſoon as the mutineers perceived this, they called out to have the draw-bridge inſtantly let down; which was accordingly done, and fell almoſt upon the buttocks of my horſe and Bethune's, ſo that we were ſeparated from the body, which remained without the city. The rebels at the ſame time rung the alarm-bell, and arming haſtily, a band of fifty ſoldiers came thundering upon us: among theſe we diſtinguiſhed three or four voices, which cried, "Fire upon that "ſcarlet cloak, and white plume, for it is the king "of Navarre." "My friends, my companions," ſaid this prince, turning towards us, "it is here "that you muſt ſhew courage and reſolution, for "our ſafety depends upon what we now act; follow me then, and do as I do, without firing your "piſtols." As he ended theſe words, he marched fiercely up to the mutineers with his piſtol in his hand: they could not ſuſtain the ſhock, and were ſoon diſperſed; three or four ſmall bodies of men preſented themſelves afterwards, and theſe alſo we drove before us; but the enemies drawing together, to the number of two hundred, and our forces being

* A city of Armagnac.

greatly diminiſhed, the danger became inevitable. The king retired to the gate, which facilitated his defence, and there he kept firm. He had the preſence of mind to order two of us to climb up upon the belfrey, and make a ſign to our companions, who continued in the field, to advance and force the gate. This they performed with the more eaſe, as very fortunately the bridge had not been drawn up.

THOSE of the citizens who were well affected to the king, but had been forced by the ſeditious into their meaſures, perceiving the ſoldiers upon the point of entering the city, attacked the rebels behind. Theſe laſt defended themſelves till the gate being forced, the city was filled with our troops. All would have been put to the ſword, and even the city abandoned to pillage, had not the principal inhabitants, with their conſuls at their head, thrown themſelves at the king's feet, and implored his pardon. He granted it, and contented himſelf with puniſhing only thoſe four perſons who had fired upon the white plume.

THE king of Navarre leaving *Bethune governor in Eauſe, advanced haſtily towards Mirande †, upon advice, that St. Criq, a catholic gentleman of his party, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the city; but not having men enough to keep it, had been obliged to throw himſelf, with his troops, into the tower, where he was beſieged, and hard preſſed by the citizens and garriſon of the place. Notwithſtanding the king marched with all poſſible diligence, he could not prevent the unhappy fate of this officer, who had juſt been taken, and burnt with all his men, when Henry appeared before the walls of Mirande. The inhabitants, who thought to draw him into their power, artfully concealed what had happened, and made the trumpets ſound, as if St. Criq was rejoicing for the aſſiſtance they brought him; when a hu-

* See all theſe little military expeditions in d'Aubigné, book ii.
† A city in the county of Armagnac.

guenot

guenot ſoldier in the city, perceiving the danger into which the king of Navarre was going to precipitate himſelf, together with all his men, who muſt infallibly have periſhed, through the great ſuperiority of the enemies numbers, came over the wall, to inform him of the ſnare that was laid for him. The king now thought of nothing but retreating; but as he was very far advanced, the inhabitants of Mirande ſoon perceived that their deſign was prevented, and ſallying out, attacked him in his retreat. Myſelf and young Bethune having engaged too far amidſt the enemy, were ſurrounded on all ſides: deſpair added to our ſtrength, and we fought like men who were reſolved to ſell their lives dear; but we ſhould certainly have been overpowered, extreme wearineſs making it hardly poſſible for us to uſe our arms any longer, when happily for us Léſignan, and the elder Bethune, whom the king of Navarre had ſent to our aſſiſtance, charged the enemy ſo fiercely, that they gave back, and afforded us the means of retreating. The ſieur d'Yvetot, a gentleman of Normandy, and la Trape, my valet de chambre, did me great ſervice upon this occaſion.

The king of Navarre ſeeing night approach, gave orders to ceaſe fighting, and retired to Jegun; where two or three days after, the royal troops, with the marechal de Villars at their head, appeared in arms, drawn thither by the report of the attempt upon Mirande. It would have been raſhneſs to attempt them, therefore we kept firmly intrenched, and ſought only to engage them to force us; but this they durſt not attempt. The two armies continued in view of each other till night: a combat of ſix againſt ſix was propoſed by Lavardin and la Devèſe; but we not being able to agree amongſt ourſelves about the choice of combatants, the king and the marquis de Villars both drew off their reſpective troops the beginning of the night.

Some time after the king of Navarre going from

Leictoure to Montauban, commanded the count de Meilles* and me, with five and twenty horſe, to fall upon a body of muſqueteers, which the inhabitants of Beaumont† had poſted in the vineyards and hollow places in our paſſage. We engaged, and drove them almoſt to the city gates, from whence about an hundred ſoldiers came out to their aſſiſtance; part of theſe we left dead upon the place, and the reſt were drowned in the ditches. The king, who ſaw the rampart begin to be crouded with ſoldiers, did not think proper to purſue this advantage, and continued his route.

AT his return, he endeavoured to avoid paſſing under the walls of this city, and took a lower road, by a place, which, if I remember right, was called St. Nicholas‡, near Mas de Verdun. Scarce had we marched a league, when we heard the beating of drums, and diſcovered a party of three hundred muſqueteers, marching in very indifferent order, under five enſigns. A council was immediately held; ſome were of opinion that we ſhould attack the enemy, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their numbers; others diſapproved this. The king of Navarre, who wanted only to try them, ordered fifty horſe to advance, and in the mean time we drew up in a line, with our domeſtics behind us, and preſented a front to the enemy, which concealed the ſmallneſs of our numbers. The ſhining of our armour contributed to deceive them: they fled acroſs the woods, whither we purſued them; till meeting with a church, they entered it, and barricaded themſelves within.

THIS church was very large, ſtrong, and well furniſhed with proviſions, being the accuſtomed retreat of the peaſants; a great number of them were then ſhut up in it. The king of Navarre undertook to

* Frederick de Foix de Candalle.

† Beaumont of Lomagne in Armagnac.

‡ St. Nicolas de la Grave. Mas de Verdun, or Mas Garnier, a city of Armagnac.

force

force it, and ſent to Montauban, Leictoure, and other neighbouring towns, for workmen and ſoldiers for that purpoſe; not doubting but Beaumont, Mirande, and other towns of the catholic party, would ſend powerful ſuccours to the beſieged, if they were not prevented. In the mean time we endeavoured, with the aſſiſtance of our ſervants, to undermine the church. The choir was allotted to me; and in the ſpace of twelve hours I made an opening in it, tho' the wall was of a great thickneſs, and built of a very hard ſtone: afterwards by means of a ſcaffold raiſed over this gap, I threw a great quantity of grenadoes into the body of the church. The beſieged had no water, and were obliged to temper their meal with wine; and what incommoded them ſtill more, they had neither ſurgeons, linen, nor ſalves for the wounds that were given them by the grenadoes. A powerful reinforcement being ſent from Montauban to the king of Navarre, they capitulated, and this prince contented himſelf with only ordering ſeven or eight of the moſt mutinous to be hanged; but he was obliged to abandon them all to the fury of the inhabitants of Montauban, who forced them out of our hand, and butchered them without mercy. We learned the cauſe of that rage which animated them againſt theſe wretches, in the reproaches they made them, of having carried away ſix women, whom, after they had raviſhed, they put to death, by filling them with gunpowder, and ſetting fire to it. A horrid exceſs of the moſt ſavage cruelty!

The ſtates, which were then held at Blois, named the archbiſhop of Vienne*, and the duke of Mont-

* The three deputies whom the ſtates ſent to the king of Navarre, were Peter de Villars, archbiſhop of Vienne, for the clergy; Andrew of Bourbon, lord of Rubenpré, for the nobility; and Menager, general of the finances of Touraine, for the third ſtate. Here therefore is a fault in theſe Memoirs: conſult de Thou, d'Aubigné, &c. See alſo an account of the ſeſſion of the ſtates of Blois, in Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 438, and in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 166, and following.

penſier and Richlieu, for deputies to the king of Navarre. This prince ſent Bethune and me as far as Bergerac, to receive them. They were commiſſioned to exhort the king of Navarre, to embrace the catholic religion, which the ſtates had declared ſhould be maintained throughout the kingdom. This interview, which had produced a ſuſpenſion of arms, having had no other effect, the deputies returned, and hoſtilities began again.

Some attempts were made upon Caſtel Jaloux† and Nerac, by the admiral de Villars‡; but the king of Navarre was preſent every where, and diſconcerted all his deſigns. He expoſed himſelf to equal dangers with the meaneſt ſoldier, and gave a ſtriking proof of the greatneſs of his courage at Nerac‖; when being ſurrounded by a body of horſe, detached on purpoſe to ſurprize him, he repulſed them almoſt by his ſingle valour. It was not in our power, by the moſt earneſt entreaties, to make him take more care of his life; and his example animating us in our turn, twelve or fifteen of us were bold enough to advance within piſtol-ſhot of the whole catholic army. The king of Navarre, who obſerved us, ſaid to Bethune, "Go to your couſin, "the baron of Roſny; he is raſh and heedleſs to "the laſt degree; bring him and his companions "off; for the enemy ſeeing us retire, will no doubt "charge us ſo fiercely, that they will be all either "taken or killed." I obeyed this order, and the prince perceiving my horſe wounded in the ſhoulder, reproached me for my temerity, in a manner, however, wholly obliging. He propoſed this day a combat of four againſt four; but it did not take place, the admiral having given the ſignal for retreating.

† Caſtel Jaloux, or Caſtel Geloux, near Auch.

‡ Honorat of Savoy, marquis of Villars. Although he was made admiral by the king during the admiral de Coligny's life, he did not in reality exerciſe that employment till after the death of that nobleman.

‖ In Guyenne, the capital of the duchy of Albret.

It was of the laſt importance to the king of Navarre to hinder the taking of Brouage *, then beſieged by the duke † of Maïenne. Accordingly he haſtened thither, leaving the viſcount of Turenne to bring his troops after him; but beſide that this nobleman did not arrive ſoon enough to ſuccour the city, the interview between the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé at Pons ‡ ſo exaſperated them againſt each other, that the prince of Condé wanted to fight with the viſcount de Turenne, whom he accuſed of being the author of their miſunderſtanding, and ſoon after openly ſeparated from the king of Navarre.

The peace which ſucceeded accidents ſo unfavourable to the reformed, was the ſole work of Henry III. who was deſirous of giving this mortification to the Guiſes. War was no longer agreeable, either to his inclinations, which led him to a ſtrange kind of life, divided between devotion and ſenſuality §, nor to his deſigns, that tended only to the cruſhing of the princes of Lorrain, now grown too powerful by the league. But although this peace ‖ was leſs advantageous to the huguenots than that of Monſieur, yet they obſerved the articles of it with more fidelity than the catholics; who while it ſtill

* A city and port in Saintonge.

† Charles de Lorraine, duke of Maïenne, ſecond ſon of Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guiſe. He was general of the league.

‡ In Saintonge.

§ There is nothing, ſaid Sixtus V. to cardinal de Joyeuſe, which your king has not done, and does, to be a monk; nor nothing which I have not done to avoid being one. He had no leſs than a hundred and fifty valets de chambre, *miniſtros cubiculari os*, ſays Buſbeq, Ep. 31.

‖ By the treaty that was concluded at Bergerac, between the king of Navarre and the marechal de Biron, and the edict that followed in the latter end of September, the number of churches was diminiſhed, the exerciſe of the pretended reformed religion was prohibited ten leagues round Paris, the burying-places of the calviniſts in this city taken away, the liberty of marriage revoked, the chambers of juſtice compoſed of half catholics and half proteſtants ſuppreſſed in Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, &c. King Henry III. called this his treaty. Neither party obſerved it faithfully: the catholics complained that ſeveral articles were infringed by the calviniſts. Memoirs of Nevers.

ſubſiſted,

ſubſiſted, poſſeſſed themſelves of Agen, Villeneuve*, for which it was impoſſible to make them give ſatisfaction. The conſequence of a peace ſo very ill obſerved, was an inactivity full of diſtruſt; which rather reſembled a long ſuſpenſion of arms, than a real peace. In this manner paſſed the remainder of this year, and part of the following.

WHETHER it was, that the queen-mother was deſirous of labouring effectually to compoſe the troubles of the ſtate, or that ſhe had ſecret deſigns, which obliged her to gain, if poſſible, the king of Navarre, ſhe quitted Paris with all her court, and making the tour of the provinces, had a conference with this prince at Réole and Auch. She even ſtaid with him a long while, at different times, either at Nerac †, Coutras, Felix ‡, or other places; for the year 1578, and part of 1579, were wholly conſumed in journies from one place to another, and reciprocal complaints of the bad execution of treaties, which indeed both parties did not ſcruple to infringe.

THE mixture of two courts equally remarkable for gallantry, produced ſuch an effect as might have been expected. Nothing was ſeen but balls, feſtivals, and polite entertainments: but while love became the ſerious buſineſs of the courtiers, Catherine was wholly abſorbed in politics: for once, however, ſhe did not ſucceed. She, indeed, reconciled the king of Navarre to his wife, then greatly diſguſted with the proceedings of her brother Henry III. towards her; but ſhe could never draw this prince again to Paris, nor prevail upon him to reſign to her thoſe places of ſecurity, to obtain which had been her principal view.

* Villeneuve in Agenois, upon the Lot.

† At Nerac, ſays le Grain, the queen-mother had ſeveral conferences with the king of Navarre, her ſon-in-law, in which ſome articles were explained, but not all; for the good lady would always keep her Spaniſh gennet by the bridle as much as ſhe was able. It was here that Henry IV. fell in love with the two ladies, d'Agelle and Teſſeuſe.

‡ Felix in Perigord.

I SHOULD

I SHOULD ſwell theſe Memoirs too much, were I to enter into a detail of this medley of politics and gallantry; and, to confeſs the truth, my youth and other affairs, more ſuitable to my inclinations, did not permit me to engage in the firſt; as for gallantry, beſides that I have loſt the remembrance of it, a trifling detail of intrigues would, in my opinion, make a very indifferent figure here. 'Tis ſufficient to ſay, that all was reduced to a deſire of pleaſing, and ſupplanting each other: I ſhall not however, omit ſome adventures relating to the war.

THE queen-mother and the king of Navarre could only agree upon a truce, which was to be in force over the whole kingdom, till the prince and ſhe ſeparated: but whether ſhe thought war would afford her a more favourable opportunity of ſeizing ſeveral towns by ſurprize and artifice, or that this method was more likely to accompliſh her views, ſhe was not ſorry that both parties ſeemed to forget they were in peace, and treated each other as enemies. It was now reſolved, that there ſhould only be a truce where the court was, and not to extend beyond a league and a half, or two leagues, from the place where the queen and the princes reſided. This gave riſe to a contraſt altogether new: here they loaded each other with civilities, and converſed with the greateſt familiarity; there they fought with the utmoſt fury and animoſity. The two courts being at Auch, upon a ball night, news was brought to the king of Navarre, that the governor of Réole, who was an old man, and a zealous proteſtant, having conceived a violent paſſion for one of the queen-mother's maids of honour, had been prevailed upon to violate his duty, and deliver up the town to the catholics. The king of Navarre, who would not long defer his revenge, privately ordered me, and three or four others, to withdraw, and with our arms, concealed under our hunting-habits, join him in the fields. We got together as many of our people as we could; and

and taking care that the entertainment ſhould ſuffer no interruption, left the hall, and joined the king, with whom we marched all night; and arriving early in the morning at Fleurence, the gates of which were open, ſeized it without oppoſition. The queen-mother, who could have ſworn that the king of Navarre had lain at Auch, was greatly ſurprized next morning with the news of this expedition; however, ſhe was the firſt to laugh at it: "I ſee, "ſaid ſhe, this is in revenge for Réole: the king of "Navarre was reſolved to have nut for nut, but "mine has the better kernel."

An adventure of the ſame kind happened a ſhort time after. When the court was at Coutras, the king of Navarre having reſolved to ſeize * St. Emilion, he ſent us over-night to St. Foi†, which was not comprehended in the truce, from whence we marched to St. Emilion, with a petard, which we faſtened by two port holes to a great tower. The burſting of this machine made a noiſe that was heard even at Coutras. A breach was made in the tower wide enough to admit two men a-breaſt, and by this means the town was taken. The queen-mother was enraged, and ſaid openly, that ſhe looked upon this action as a premeditated inſult, St. Emilion being within the bounds of the truce. 'Tis certain, that the diſtance between Coutras and this town was ſuch as rendered the caſe a little doubtful; but the king of Navarre, who knew that a few days before, the citizens of St. Emilion had pillaged a proteſtant merchant, which the queen-mother maintained to be a lawful prize, juſtified what he had done by this fact, and all was paſſed over.

It often happened, that the two courts ſeparated from each other, when any thing fell out to give either of them diſguſt; but the deſire of pleaſure, which languiſhed while they were divided, ſoon brought them together again. The queen-mother's court was car-

* In Guienne near Libourne. † Upon the Dordogne in Agencis.

ried

ried by the king of Navarre to Foix; where, among other diverſions, he was reſolved to give them that of bear-hunting. The ladies were frighted; this entertainment did not ſuit with their delicacy. Some of theſe animals tore the horſes to pieces; others overthrew ten Swiſs, and as many fuſileers; and one of them, who had been wounded in ſeveral places, mounting upon a rock, threw himſelf down headlong, with ſeven or eight hunters whom he held faſt in his paws, and cruſhed them to pieces.

At laſt the queen-mother left the king of Navarre, and continued her route through Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny, where ſhe had an interview with the duke of Savoy, and returned to Paris, leaving all things in the ſame ſtate in which ſhe found them; that is, in a peace which only increaſed the doubts and ſuſpicions of each party: however, ſhe did not forget to ſeduce part of the king of Navarre's catholic officers; among whom were Lavardin, Grammont *, and Duras. Another effect of her preſence was, to embroil ſo perfectly the prince with the viſcount of Turenne, that he challenged him to a ſingle duel. Turenne went indeed to the place of combat, but it was only to make thoſe ſubmiſſions which he owed to the high quality of his antagoniſt. This duel produced nothing fatal, but the viſcount received ſeveral wounds in a ſecond, to which he was challenged by Duras and Roſan †. It was ſaid at

* Philibert de Grammont. John de Durfort.

† The two brothers, Durfort de Duras, and Durfort de Roſan, fought with the viſcount de Turenne, and John de Gontaut de Biron, baron of Salignac, his ſecond. Although the brothers were armed with coats of mail, yet the diſadvantage was wholly on their ſide. The viſcount permitted Roſan to riſe, and Salignac allowed Duras to change his ſword; at the ſame moment nine or ten armed men fell upon the viſcount, and left him upon the place pierced with two and twenty wounds, none of which, however, proved mortal. He recovered, and generouſly intreated the queen-mother to pardon Duras. The marechal de Damville, called by the death of his brother, marechal de Montmorency, coming thither about that time, was conſulted on this action; and it was his opinion, as well as that of many others, that the viſcount de Turenne was at liberty to ſatisfy his revenge by any

that time, that the advantage they had over Turenne, upon this occaſion, was owing to an artifice ſcarcely allowable.

AFTER the queen-mother's departure, the court of Navarre went to Montauban, and from thence to Nerac, where they continued ſome time, uncertain whether it would not be proper to renew the war. This court being no leſs voluptuous than that of France, nothing was thought of but pleaſures and gallantry.

THE news of the catholics having taken the city of Figeac * by ſurprize, and holding the caſtle beſieged, determined them to take arms immediately. The king of Navarre ſent the viſcount Turenne to raiſe the ſiege; who at parting ſaid to me, "Well, "Sir, will you be of our party?" "Yes Sir, I "replied, I ſhall be always of your party, provided "it is for the ſervice of the king my maſter, and "yours at all times, when you favour me with "your friendſhip."

THE catholics, ſurprized at our diligence, abandoned Figeac; and the war being now begun by the huguenots, they made above forty attempts on different places, of which three only ſucceeded †. Theſe were Fere in Picardy, Montagu in Poitou, and Cahors. At this laſt I was preſent, for which reaſon, as well as that of all the towns attacked by petard and undermining, this was the moſt remarkable, I ſhall give ſome account of it.

CAHORS is a large and populous city, ſurrounded

any means whatever, without expoſing his own life. Memoirs of the duke de Bouillon. His life by Marſolier. De Thou. Brantome in the tenth volume of his Memoirs, ſpeaking of duels, ſeems to doubt whether this duel was conducted in the manner it was reported, conſidering the reputation the two brothers were in for courage and honour.

* A city of Quercy, upon the confines of Auvergne.

† See all theſe expeditions particularly related in d'Aubigné, vol. II. book iv.

on

on three ſides by water ‡. Veſins ‖, who was governor of it, had above two thouſand men, beſides a hundred horſe, under his command; and he obliged the citizens alſo to take arms. He kept himſelf upon his guard like a man who expected to be attacked; which we diſcovered by a paper found in his cabinet, on which he had wrote theſe few words with his own hand, "A fig for the huguenots." The king of Navarre, whoſe little army was weakened by the abſence of Chouppes, and who ſaw no means of opening himſelf a paſſage but by petard and undermining, did not, however, deſpair of taking the city. He reinforced his troops with all the ſoldiers he could find in Montauban, Négrepeliſſe, St. Antonin, Cajare, and Senevieres §; but the whole did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men, with whom he left Montauban, and arrived about midnight within a quarter of a league of Cahors. It was in the month of June, the weather extremely hot, with violent thunder, but no rain. He ordered us to halt in a plantation of walnut trees, where a fountain of running-water afforded us ſome refreſhment. Here he ſettled the order of his march, and of the whole attack. Two petardeers belonging to the viſcount Gourdon *, the chief contriver of this enterprize, followed by ten of the braveſt ſoldiers in the king's guards, marched before us, to open a paſſage into the city. They were ſuſtained by twenty others, and thirty horſe of the king's guards likewiſe, under the conduct of St. Martin †, their captain; forty gentlemen, commanded by Roquelaure ‡, and ſixty ſoldiers of the guard compoſed

‡ The river of Lot waſhes its walls.

‖ The ſame who is mentioned in the beginning of this book. It is thought, that if he had not been ſlain in the attack, at the head of his people, the king of Navarre would not have made himſelf maſter of the place.

§ Towns in Quercy.

* ---de Terride, viſcount of Gourdon.

† Charles le Clerc de St. Martin. He was ſlain there.

‡ Antony de Roquelaure.

another

another body, in which I was, and marched afterwards. The king of Navarre, at the head of two hundred men, divided into four bands, came next; the remainder of his little army, which made a body of about one thouſand or twelve hundred arquebuſiers, in ſix platoons, cloſed the march.

We had three gates to force; theſe we made haſte to throw down with the petard, after which we made uſe of hatchets. The breaches were ſo low, that the firſt who entered were obliged to creep through upon their hands and feet. At the noiſe of the petard, forty men armed, and about two hundred arquebuſiers, ran almoſt naked to diſpute our entry; mean time the bells rung the alarm, to warn every body to ſtand to their defence. In a moment the houſes were covered with ſoldiers, who threw large pieces of wood, tiles, and ſtones upon us, with repeated cries of "Charge, kill them." We ſoon found, that they were reſolved to receive us boldly; it was neceſſary, therefore, at firſt, to ſuſtain an encounter, which laſted about a quarter of an hour, and was very terrible. I was caſt to the ground by a large ſtone that was thrown out of a window; but by the aſſiſtance of the ſieur de la Bertichere, and la Trape, my valet de chambre, I recovered, and reſumed my poſt. All this time we advanced very little, for freſh platoons immediately ſucceeded thoſe that fled before us; ſo that before we gained the great ſquare, we had endured more than twelve battles. My cuiſſes being looſened, I was wounded in the left thigh. At laſt we got to the ſquare, which we found barricaded, and with infinite labour we demoliſhed thoſe works, being all the time expoſed to the continual diſcharge of the artillery, which the enemy had formed into a battery.

The king of Navarre continued at the head of his troops during all theſe attacks; he had two pikes broke,

broke, and his armour was battered in ſeveral places by the fire and blows of the enemy. We had already performed enough to have gained a great victory; but ſo much remained to do, that the battle ſeemed only to be juſt begun; the city being of large extent, and filled with ſo great a number of ſoldiers, that we in compariſon of them were but a handful. At every croſs-way we had a new combat to ſuſtain, and every ſtone houſe we were obliged to ſtorm; each inch of ground was ſo well defended, that the king of Navarre had occaſion for all his men, and we had not a moment's leiſure to take breath.

It is hardly credible that we could endure this violent exerciſe for five whole days and nights; during which time, not one of us durſt quit his poſt for a ſingle moment, take any nouriſhment, but with his arms in his hand; or ſleep, except for a few moments leaning againſt the ſhops. Fatigue, faintneſs, the weight of our arms, and the exceſſive heat, joined to the pain of our wounds, deprived us of the little remainder of our ſtrength; our feet ſcorched with heat, and bleeding in many places, gave us agonies impoſſible to be expreſſed.

The citizens, who ſuffered none of theſe inconveniencies, and who became every minute more ſenſible of the ſmallneſs of our numbers, far from ſurrendering, thought of nothing but protracting the fight till the arrival of ſome ſuccours, which they ſaid were very near: they ſent forth great cries, and animated each other by our obſtinacy. Though their defence was weak, yet they did enough to oblige us to keep upon our guard, which completed our misfortunes. In this extremity, the principal officers went to the king, and adviſed him to aſſemble as many men as he could about his perſon, and open himſelf a retreat. They redoubled their inſtances at the report which was ſpread, and which they found to be true, that the ſuccours expected by the enemy were arrived at the bar, and would be ſo

ſoon

ſoon in the city, that he would have but juſt time to force the wall, and ſecure himſelf a paſſage. But this brave prince, whoſe courage nothing was ever able to ſuppreſs, turning towards them with a ſmiling countenance, and air ſo intrepid, as might have inſpired courage into the moſt puſillanimous heart: "'Tis heaven, ſaid he, which dictates what I "ought to do upon this occaſion; remember then, "that my retreat out of this city, without having "ſecured one alſo to my party, ſhall be the retreat "of my ſoul from my body. My honour requires "this of me; ſpeak therefore to me of nothing but "fighting, conqueſt, or death."

ANIMATED by theſe words, and the example of ſo brave a leader, we began to make new efforts; but in all probability, we ſhould at laſt have been wholly defeated, but for the arrival of Chouppes ‖, whom the king had the precaution to ſend for before the attack: he, having underſtood the danger Henry was in, opened himſelf a paſſage into the city, with five or ſix hundred foot, and a hundred horſe, trampling over the enemy as he paſſed, who gathered in crouds to obſtruct his way. As ſoon as he joined us, we marched together to the bar where the enemies ſuccours were endeavouring to enter. All this quarter we forced, and when we had made ourſelves maſters of the parapets and towers, it was not difficult to oblige the enemies without to abandon their enterprize and retreat; after which, the inhabitants finding themſelves no longer able to reſiſt, laid down their arms, and the city was given up to plunder. My good fortune threw a ſmall iron cheſt in my way, in which I found about four thouſand crowns. In the relation of an action ſo hot, ſo long, and ſo glorious for the young § prince that

‖ Peter de Chouppes.

§ Other hiſtorians agree, that this attack laſted five whole days, and that Henry IV. had a great many ſoldiers wounded there, and only ſeventy ſlain. M. de Thou's relation of this action is a little different, but our Memoirs deſerve moſt credit.

con-

conducted it, I am obliged to ſuppreſs many circumſtances, and many particular exploits, performed by the king and his officers, which would have the appearance of being fabulous.

THE king of Navarre having left Cabrieres * governor in Cahors, returned to Montauban. He defeated likewiſe two or three ſquadrons belonging to the marechal de Biron's army, who was under a neceſſity of ſhutting himſelf up in Marmande. The king, for the greater convenience of taking this city, came to Tonneins †; which produced a great many little attacks, the marechal de Biron's ſoldiers making inroads every day into the enemy's country. Henry one day ordered Léſignan, at the head of five and twenty gentlemen well mounted, of which number I was one, to advance even to the gates of Marmande, as if to defy them: which was often done. We were followed by a hundred foot, who lay down on the ſhore of a rivulet not far from us; and the king, with three hundred horſe, and two companies of his guards, concealed himſelf in a wood at a ſmall diſtance. Our orders were to fire our piſtols only, and to endeavour to take any of the ſoldiers whom we ſhould find without the walls, and retire towards the little body of foot when they began to purſue us. Accordingly, as ſoon as we ſaw ourſelves ready to be attacked by a hundred horſe, who came out of the city, we marched off, though they inſultingly called out to us to ſtay. An officer of our troop, named Quaſy, hearing himſelf defied by name, could not reſtrain his indignation, but turned his horſe's bridle, and ſhot his challenger dead: he loſt his horſe, however, and regained his brigade on foot. Upon ſeeing him attacked by the enemy's party, who were enraged at the death of their comrade, we marched immediately to his aſſiſtance: and now ſo fierce a combat enſued, that

* Conſult d'Aubigné upon theſe expeditions, vol. II. b. ok iv.
† In Agenois upon the Garonne.

one

one of our valets, ſeized with terror, fled, and carried the alarm to the king of Navarre; telling him, that we, and the whole party of foot were put to the ſword. This he ſaid without the leaſt foundation; for the enemy, on the contrary, ſeeing the body of foot, who came out of their ambuſcade to ſecond us, fearing ſome ſtratagem, and ſuppoſing that the whole army would fall upon them, retreated precipitately into the city.

It was with great difficulty that they could reſtrain the ardent Henry from ruſhing upon the enemy's army to revenge us, and periſhing glorioufly; but they made him ſuch preſſing inſtances to retire, that he conſented to it at laſt, though with infinite regret. His aſtoniſhment was extremely great when he ſaw us, and his grief ſtill greater for having yielded to counſellors too timid; eſpecially when he ſaw Léſignan, who complained bitterly that he had been abandoned upon this occaſion. As for me, I loſt an horſe in the action, which was killed under me.

The king of Navarre's diſcontent was greatly increaſed by the bad news that was brought him. The prince of Condé, not ſatisfied with having corrupted ſome of his troops, and openly ſeparating from his party, had drawn ſeveral towns of Dauphiny and Languedoc into his intereſt, and took them from Henry to compoſe a ſovereignty for himſelf. Aigueſmortes and Pecais ‡, he had engaged to prince Caſimir as ſecurities for the forces this prince had promiſed: and very lately, he had poſſeſſed himſelf of Fere ‖ in Picardy; the loſs of which ſenſibly affected the king of Navarre. His army, already much inferior to that of the catholics, he was now obliged to diſmember, and ſent Turenne againſt the prince of

‡ Towns in Languedoc.

‖ It was re-taken immediately by the marechal de Matignon. In the Memoirs of the league there is a letter from queen Catherine to the prince of Condé, in which ſhe thanks him for having taken arms againſt the court.

Condé,

Condé, who ſoon diſconcerted all his projects: as for himſelf, being no longer able to keep the field before the marechal Biron, he ſhut himſelf up in Nerac; in which the ladies and court of Navarre then were, and as brilliant as ever, notwithſtanding the bad condition of the king's affairs.

THIS retreat gave a new face to the war; it could neither be called a campaign nor a ſiege, but it was both together. Biron, judging the ſiege of this place to be an enterprize for which he had not ſufficient ſtrength, ſought only to keep us in continual alarm, by ſurrounding it with all his troops; and the king of Navarre, though blocked up in the city, did not however fail to ſhew himſelf often in the field. The gates of the city were kept ſhut by his orders, his cavalry therefore was of no uſe to him; and our only reſource was to aſſemble in ſmall parties, and ſally out by the private doors, to attack the ſeparate detachments of the royal army, and ſometimes we would advance to the very front of the whole army. I reſumed my former condition of a private ſoldier, and mixing with the officers, performed many of thoſe raſh actions, in which there is neither fame nor advantage to be gained; and were likewiſe ſeverely condemned by the king of Navarre. When he was informed one day that I was wounded and taken by a party of the enemy, notwithſtanding his anger, he ſent Des-Champs and Dominge to reſcue me if poſſible; and at my return calling me raſh and preſumptuous, he expreſſly forbid me ever to leave the city without his orders. I confeſs, I but too juſtly merited theſe reproofs; for it is great folly and extravagance to precipitate one's ſelf into inevitable dangers, from whence nothing leſs than a miracle can extricate one. The marechal de Biron made ſhew of beſieging Nerac; but all ended in a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes, which the ladies beheld from behind the ramparts. The enemy's general had ſo little reſpect for them, that he ordered five or ſix

diſcharges of cannon * to be made, though he expected no advantage from it.

The king of Navarre did not, however, neglect to make himſelf maſter of Monſégur †. Milon, one of his captains, encloſed five hundred weight of powder in a ſauciſſe, which he found means to introduce into a common ſhore, which ran into a ditch between the two principal gates; the end of the ſauciſſe, to which the fire was to be applied, was concealed amongſt the graſs. When every thing was ready for the playing off this machine, the king permitted us to go and ſee the effect, which indeed was wonderful. One of the two gates was thrown into the midſt of the city, and the other fifty paces forwards into the field. The vaults were all ruined, and a breach being made in the wall, wide enough to admit three men a-breaſt, the city was taken. The enemy ſeeming determined to recover it, the king commanded me to ſhut myſelf up in it with forty gentlemen. We applied ourſelves to the fortifying the place well with paliſades and intrenchments, in the place of thoſe the powder had deſtroyed; and this we performed without interruption, notwithſtanding we were all afflicted with a kind of epidemical diſtemper ‡, and myſelf more than any other. At length we put the place into ſuch a condition, that we had nothing to apprehend from the enemy; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who by the careſſes with which he loaded me on this occaſion, was deſirous of teaching me to make a juſt diſtinction between military exploits that are authorized by duty, and thoſe which a raſh and miſguided courage ſuggeſts.

* Some cannon were diſcharged againſt a gate of the city, behind which was the queen of Navarre. At the peace, ſhe procured the government of Guienne to be taken from this marechal.

† In the country of Foix.

‡ This diſtemper ſeized them in the reins, the head, and particularly in the neck. Bleeding and purging were mortal in it. De Thou obſerves alſo, that this diſeaſe was the fore-runner of a plague that carried off forty thouſand people in Paris. Book lxxiii.

It was with pleaſure that I ſaw this prince's favour towards me increaſe every day, and to find that he gave to inclination what he believed he had granted only to his mother's recommendation; who, when dying, preſſed him to take care of my fortune. Some ſlight ſervices I did him this year, he rewarded by the poſt of counſellor of Navarre, and chamberlain in ordinary, with a penſion of two thouſand livres, which at that time was thought very conſiderable. I was then but nineteen years of age, and the fire of youth drew me into a fault which had like to have made me loſe for ever the favour of this prince.

I was at ſupper one night with Beauvais, the ſon of the king of Navarre's governor, and an officer named Uſſeau, who happening to quarrel, reſolved to fight, and intreated me to provide them with the means. Inſtead of immediately acquainting the king of Navarre with their deſign, that prince being very ſolicitous to prevent theſe ſort of combats, which a falſe ſenſe of honour made very frequent at that time, I was imprudent enough to promiſe to comply; and after having in vain endeavoured to reconcile them, conducted them myſelf to the meadow where they fought, and each received a very dangerous wound. The king of Navarre, who loved Beauvais, was extremely offended with me for the part I had acted in this affair. He ordered me to be ſent for, and told me in a rage, that I inſulted the authority of the ſovereign, even in his own court, and that, were ſtrict juſtice to be done on me, I ſhould loſe my head. Inſtead of repairing my fault by an ingenuous confeſſion of it, I added another ſtill greater: Piqued at this prince's threatening, I anſwered haughtily, That I was neither his ſubject nor vaſſal; and threatened him, in my turn, with quitting his ſervice. The king diſcovered no other reſentment for this inſolence, than a contemptuous ſilence. I went out of his

preſence, with an intention to leave this good prince, and perhaps for ever, had not the princeſſes undertaken to make my peace with the king, who liſtening only to the dictates of his friendſhip for me, contented himſelf with puniſhing me no otherwiſe for my fault, than by treating me, during ſome time, with great coldneſs: at length, when he was convinced of the ſincerity of my repentance, he reſumed his former ſentiments. This inſtance of his goodneſs made me know in what manner ſo worthy a prince ought to be ſerved. I attached myſelf to him more ſtrongly than before, reſolving, from that moment, never to have any other maſter: but I ſaw myſelf removed from him for ſome time, by an imprudent promiſe which I had made to the duke of Alençon.

BOOK II.

THE queen-mother, whoſe fertile imagination was ever producing ſchemes for the grandeur of her houſe *, and ſtill more employed for her own particular deſigns, having no longer any hope of marrying her youngeſt ſon to the queen of England, turned all her views upon Flanders, of which ſhe undertook to make him ſovereign. She had at firſt made ſeveral ineffectual attempts upon the Dutch; who, thinking they ſhould appeaſe the reſentment of Spain † by chuſing a maſter out of the houſe of Auſtria, decreed that honour to the arch-

* M. de Thou, treating of this ſubject, ſays, book xcvi. that before the crown of Poland was offered to the duke of Anjou, Catherine, who was reſolved to make him a ſovereign one way or other, had ſent Francis de Noailles to Selim, then grand ſeignior, to aſk the kingdom of Algiers for this prince; Sardinia was to be added to it, which had been obtained from Spain, in exchange for the kingdom of Navarre, which they had promiſed him the poſſeſſion of; and as an equivalent for the claim the king of Navarre had to this kingdom, other eſtates in France were to be given him.

† The revolt of the United Provinces from Spain, an account of which will be ſeen in the following part of theſe Memoirs, began by an

duke Matthias, notwithſtanding the powerful intrigues of Catherine. The archduke was a weak prince, abſolutely deſtitute of the qualities neceſſary for a ſovereign; upon this occaſion eſpecially, where valour was ſo neceſſary, he behaved in ſuch a manner, as to inſpire the nobility with the utmoſt contempt for him; and by preferring the prince of Orange ‡ openly to all the other lords, and declaring him lieutenant-general of his forces, rendered himſelf completely hateful to them. The Dutch, diſguſted with this new maſter, thought of nothing but freeing themſelves from his power, and caſt their eyes upon Monſieur, brother to the king of France: whom they conſidered as a prince capable of defending them in his own perſon, and procuring them the powerful protection of his country.

HE was at Coutras when the deputies from the United Provinces came to make him this offer: he accepted it joyfully, and deferred his journey to the Low Countries no longer than till he could appear there with a train ſuitable to the dignity of his birth. For this purpoſe, he earneſtly ſolicited the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt the lords and gentlemen of the king of Navarre's party to follow him. The greateſt part of the catholics attached themſelves to him, and the hopes of a ſolid and laſting peace, with which the queen-mother took care to amuſe the proteſtants, was the cauſe that many of thoſe alſo promiſed to attend him.

FERVAQUES and Rochepot §, two of my kinſmen, engaged themſelves in his party; and, to prevail upon me to follow their example, repreſented to me, that after the loſs I had lately ſuffered by the death of my father, I ſhould take care to recover

an inſurrection, and a confederacy formed in the year 1566, the deſign of which was to hinder the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition in thoſe countries. Manuſcripts in the king's library, marked 9981.

‡ William of Naſſau, prince of Orange.

§ Antony de Silly, lord of Rochepot.

the ſucceſſion to the viſcount de Gand's ‖ eſtate, who had diſinherited me on account of my religion, and endeavour to get poſſeſſion of ſeveral other eſtates in Flanders, to which my family was entitled, and which only the protection of a new ſovereign could procure me. To theſe reaſons they added, in the name of Monſieur, a promiſe of twelve thouſand crowns, to furniſh me with an equipage. I yielded to their ſolicitations, and gave my word to go with them. Our expedition was protracted a conſiderable time, on account of ſeveral different affairs; at length all obſtacles being * removed, and the Dutch repeating their intreaties, Monſieur reminding us of our engagement, ſent us orders to join him. When I went to take leave of the king of Navarre, I had a long converſation with him on my departure, and the occaſion of it; which I have never reflected on ſince without the deepeſt gratitude for that generous affection he diſcovered for me, nor without admiration of his penetrating wit, and the juſtneſs of his conjectures. When I mentioned leaving him, "'Tis by this ſtroke, ſaid he, that "we ſhall loſe you; all is over, you will become "a Dutchman and a papiſt." I aſſured him that I would be neither; but that I ſhould have cauſe to reproach myſelf eternally, if by neglecting to cultivate the favour of my relations, and for the ſake of avoiding a little trouble, I ſhould ſee myſelf deprived of thoſe large eſtates that might revert to me from

‖ Hugh de Melun, viſcount de Gand, grandfather by the mother's ſide to M. de Sully.

* By the peace concluded at Pleix, a caſtle upon the Dordogne, between the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou. The proteſtants, to whom the laſt war had not been very favourable, conſented to it without any difficulty. The duke of Anjou deſired it with great ardour, in order to proſecute his deſigns upon the Low Countries; it was ſigned in the month of November. The articles were not made known, but were believed to be of little importance. The cities given for ſecurity, were to be kept by the calviniſts ſix years longer.

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the houſes of Bethune, Melun, and Horn †. I added, that it was this conſideration alone which induced me to join Monſieur, and that only for a little time, after which nothing ſhould be able to prevent my following my inclinations, which were to attach myſelf ſolely to him; and that whenever he had the ſmalleſt occaſion for my ſervice, I ſhould leave Flanders at his firſt order. The king then entertained me with the predictions that had been made him, that he ſhould one day be king of France; and I, in my turn, informed him, that a great fortune had been foretold me. An early prepoſſeſſion in favour of theſe pretended prophecies had made me weak enough to give credit to them; but as for the king of Navarre, who was of opinion that religion ought to inſpire a contempt for thoſe evil prophets, as he called them, he had within his own mind an oracle more certain, which was a perfect knowledge of the perſon and character of Monſieur, and a ſagacity that opened almoſt futurity to him. "He will "deceive me, ſaid he, if he ever fulfils the expecta- "tions that are conceived of him: he has ſo little "courage, a heart ſo malignant and deceitful, a "body ſo ill made, ſo few graces in his converſa- "tion, ſuch want of dexterity in every kind of ex- "erciſe, that I cannot perſuade myſelf he will ever "perform any thing that is great." The king of Navarre had leiſure to ſtudy this prince thoroughly, during the time that they were kept priſoners together. His memory at this inſtant furniſhed him with an infinite number of particulars, that gave him room to believe, Monſieur would infallibly fail in an enterprize ſo noble and hazardous as that he had undertaken. Amongſt others he told me, that Monſieur flung himſelf againſt a pillar in running at the ring, and managed his horſe with ſo little ſkill, that he would have been thrown to the ground, had not

† Anne de Melun, the author's mother, was the daughter of Hugo, viſcount of Gand, and of Jane d'Horn.

his equery with great haſte and ſubtilty cut the reins of his horſe, and ſpared him the ſhame of ſo awkward a fall. That he ſucceeded no better in dancing, hunting, or any other exerciſe; and far from feeling a juſt conſciouſneſs of theſe natural defects, or of repairing them in ſome degree by an ingenuous modeſty, he ſecretly hated all who were more favoured by nature than himſelf; particularly the king of Navarre, who, on account of the preference the ladies gave him to Monſieur, tho' the brother of their king, and his having rivalled this prince in the favour of madam de Sauves *, and other court-quarrels of the ſame nature, became the object of his jealouſy and hate.

THESE little anecdotes with which he entertained me, tho' inconſiderable in themſelves, yet ceaſed to appear ſo, when the event fully juſtified the concluſions he drew from them. He concluded with telling me, that he plainly perceived Catherine had formed a deſign to exterminate the proteſtant party; and that he ſhould ſoon have occaſion for his faithful ſervants: then embracing me, he wiſhed me a happier journey than our leader's was likely to be. I threw myſelf at his feet, and kiſſing his hand, proteſted that I would ever be ready to ſhed the laſt drop of my blood in his ſervice. I quitted his preſence,

* ------ de Beaune of Samblancay, married to Simon de Fizes, baron of Sauves, counſellor, and firſt ſecretary of ſtate, who died November the 27th, 1579. She made this name well known by her gallantries. Her ſecond huſband was the marquis of Noirmoutier. "One night, ſays Matthieu the hiſtorian, when the duke of "Alençon was with her, the king of Navarre laid a ſnare for him, "ſo that as he came out, he fell againſt ſomething in his way, and "hurt one of his eyes. The next day the king of Navarre meeting "him, exclaimed, Heavens! what is the matter with your eye? "what accident has happened to it? The duke anſwered rudely, It "is nothing, a ſmall matter ſurpriſes you. The other continuing to "bemoan him, the duke being offended, advanced, and feigning to "jeſt, whiſpered in his ear, Whoever ſhall ſay I have got it where "you imagine, I will make him a liar. Souvray and Du Guaſt hin-"dered them from fighting." Vol. I. book vii. page 409.

to

to go and pay my reſpects to the queens; after which I took poſt for Roſny.

FROM hence I ſent Maignan, my equery, to Paris, to buy me ſome horſes. I have never ſince had any that equalled two which he brought me. One of them was a Spaniſh horſe; he was quite black, except a white ſpot on his right buttock. The other was a Sardinian horſe, to whom nature had given an inſtructive quality of defending his rider; for he would roll his eyes furiouſly, and ſpring upon the enemy with his mouth open, never quitting him till he had thrown him to the earth.

PART of the lands belonging to Monſieur extending to the neighbourhood of Roſny, I took occaſion from thence to draw ſome advantage from his offer, and aſked for the remainder of a wood, to be applied to my uſe; which was granted; and it produced me the ſum of forty thouſand franks. With this money, in fifteen days, I fitted out my whole troop, which was compoſed of eighty gentlemen; ſome of whom followed me diſintereſtedly, and others received only two hundred livres at moſt. With this train I went to join Monſieur, who waited for us in his caſtle of La-Fere, in Tarteno's; from whence, after ſome time ſpent in deer-hunting, we marched to Saint Quentin, where all his troops were aſſembled.

THE Prince of Parma * ſurrounded Cambray with his whole army, and kept it blocked up. This afforded an occaſion for the braveſt amongſt us to ſignalize themſelves, and each one was deſirous of commanding the firſt party that ſhould be ſent to reconnoitre. This honour fell to me, by the diſpoſition into which Fervaques ‖, the quarter-maſter general, who was my relation and friend, had put the army: it procured me, however, no advantage, for I returned without having taken one priſoner, the beſiegers keeping all cloſe behind their lines, although I paſ-

* Alexander Farneſe, duke of Parma.
‖ William de Hauterſier de Fervaques.

ſed near enough to ſuſtain ſeveral diſcharges. The viſcount Turenne ſecretly rejoiced at my diſappointment, becauſe I had refuſed the offer he made to join me, if I would wait till the next day. He choſe out one hundred gentlemen, with whom he advanced towards Cambray, flattering himſelf that he ſhould perform no inconſiderable exploit. The event did not anſwer his expectations; this fine troop had the misfortune to be defeated by fourſcore or an hundred men belonging to the regiment of M. de Roubais *, of the houſe of Melun, who ſerved in the enemy's army. Ten or twelve of our party were made priſoners, amongſt whom were Ventadour ‡, and the viſcount Turenne himſelf.

MEAN time Monſieur advanced, with an intention to give battle to the enemy's general; but he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that we durſt not attempt to force him, and the following night he raiſed the blockade, and retired towards Valenciennes, without the loſs of one ſoldier, leaving the paſs alſo ſo ſecurely guarded, that he was under no apprehenſion of being overtaken. Monſieur now entered Cambray, and was received with great magnificence by the governor, whoſe name was d'Inchy. Chateau Cambreſis refuſing to ſurrender, was taken by aſſault. Monſieur, willing at firſt to diſcover a gentleneſs that might conciliate the people's affections towards him, forbid, upon pain of ſevere puniſhments, any violence againſt the women, who are generally the miſerable victims of war; but fearing that theſe or-

* Robert de Melun, marquis of Roubais. The viſcount Turenne's deſign was to throw himſelf into Cambray. See his Memoirs, page 311, and following. It is obſerved there, that he choſe rather to be priſoner to the prince de Robecque, general of the Spaniſh cavalry, than to the king of Spain: which was the cauſe that he was detained two years and ten months; for Spain feared, that after Robecque had received the money for the viſcount's ranſom, which was fifty-three thouſand crowns, he would quit its ſervice.

‡ Anne de Levis, afterwards duke of Ventadour, knight of the king's orders, governor of Limoſin, and lieutenant-general in Languedoc. He died in 1622.

ders

ders would not be ſufficient to reſtrain the ſoldiers' brutality, any more than the plague with which the fort was infected, he gave them the churches for aſylums, and placed guards about them. A very beautiful young girl threw herſelf into my arms as I was walking in the ſtreets, and holding me faſt, conjured me to guard her from ſome ſoldiers, who, ſhe ſaid, concealed themſelves as ſoon as they ſaw me. I endeavoured to calm her fears, and offered to conduct her to the next church; but ſhe told me ſhe had been there, and aſked for admittance, which they refuſed, becauſe they knew ſhe had the plague. My blood froze in my veins at this declaration, and anger renewing my ſtrength, I thruſt this girl from my arms, who expoſed me to death, to ſave her, when ſhe carried, in my opinion, her ſecurity about her; and flying away as faſt as I was able, expected every moment to be ſeized with the plague.

MONSIEUR having attacked the paſſages of Arleux, and l'Ecluſe, I took ſome priſoners there, whom I ſent back without ranſom, as ſoon as I was informed that they belonged to the marquis de Roubais, my couſin. Roubais, who was not ignorant of my juſt pretenſions to the eſtates of the viſcount de Gand, which he had uſurped, received this generoſity very ill. "By heaven, ſaid he, theſe civilities are very "fine; but if he is taken, he brings his ranſom "along with him." I had reaſon to be apprehenſive of this misfortune, and it would actually have happened to me two days after, at the attack of a wall, if Seſſeval, by a very ſeaſonable charge, had not extricated me from the danger.

THE prince of Parma having divided his army in the Low Countries, Monſieur returned to Cambray, where he was guilty of an artifice towards d'Inchy, very unworthy of a great prince, whoſe word ought always to be ſo inviolable, that no perſon ſhould have a thought of ſuſpecting his integrity. He had

invited himſelf to dinner with this governor, who was at an exceſſive expence to receive him in the citadel, in a manner ſuitable to his high rank. D'Inchy invited above ſixty of us to attend this prince, and treated us all with equal greatneſs and magnificence. During the repaſt, he was told that Monſieur's guards preſented themſelves at the gates; d'Inchy, thinking he ſhould fail in the moſt eſſential part of his reception of Monſieur, if he ſent them back, gave orders for their admittance, and every one elſe that came in that prince's name, who, he ſaid, was ſole maſter in the caſtle. He ſpoke indeed prophetically, tho' he did not think ſo at the time; for ſo many made uſe of this privilege, that our party became at laſt the ſtrongeſt, and Monſieur's guards diſarming thoſe of M. d'Inchy, ſeized upon the caſtle. This exploit was wholly the contrivance of Monſieur, who relied on that ſincerity in the governor, which he himſelf was not poſſeſſed of. As ſoon as d'Inchy was ſenſible of his misfortune, he complained bitterly of it to Monſieur, who anſwered him only with an inſulting ſmile upon the accent of his country, which was Picardy; and obliging him to quit the caſtle, which he gave to Balagny *, thought he made d'Inchy ſufficient amends by the gift of the town and duchy of Chateau-Thierry; but that gentleman, who perceived the difference between what was given him, and what he had been deprived of, reſigned himſelf up to deſpair, and ſeeking death found it ſoon after in a ſkirmiſh.

AFTER this Monſieur returned to France, notwithſtanding the intreaties of the inhabitants of the Low Countries to the contrary, who aſſured him, that after five or ſix fortreſſes more were taken, the only important ones that remained, all Flanders would ſubmit to him. His deſign in going to France was to make preparations for his voyage to England,

* John de Montluc, natural ſon of John de Montluc, biſhop of Valence; he is mentioned hereafter.

whither

whither he went a little time after. The reception he met with from queen Elizabeth*, and the engagement he contracted with her, having been mentioned by all the hiſtorians, I ſhall take no notice of them here, though I attended h m in this voyage. From England Monſieur again returned to Zealand; flattered with a thouſand agreeable hopes. He came to Lillo†, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he was crowned duke of Brabant by the prince of Orange, aſſiſted by the prince Dauphin‡, and all the nobility of the Low Countries, who expreſſed their joy on this occaſion, a thouſand different ways. This affection of the Dutch towards Monſieur had but a ſhort duration. The prince of Orange, who only was more beloved by the people than him, was wounded in his chamber by a piſtol ſhot‖. The populace, who thought none but the French could be guilty of this action, mutinied, and would have fallen upon them; and Monſieur could find ſecurity no where but in the houſe of the wounded perſon, whither he fled for refuge. When the true author of this intended aſſaſſination § was diſcovered, there was no ſort of excuſes or atonements which the burgeſſes

* It is well known that the queen of England allowed ſeveral of the princes of Europe to flatter themſelves in this manner with hopes of marrying her; and whether policy, or reaſons purely natural, was the cauſe that ſhe never came to any concluſion, is a queſtion not eaſy to decide. Monſieur went to England in the winter of 1581, and returned to Flanders the ſpring following. See an account of this voyage, and of all the negociations concerning this marriage at length, in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 474, 603.

† A fort upon the Scheld.

‡ Francis of Bourbon, ſon to the duke of Montpenſier.

‖ The 18th of March 1582, by John de Jaureguy. The ball went quite through his jaw. The aſſaſſin was taken by the ſoldiers of the prince of Orange, who ruſhed in at the noiſe, juſt as he was drawing his poignard to diſpatch him. Chron. Piaſicki.

§ By the papers that were found in his pocket, he was known to be a Spaniard; this it was that appeaſed the people, who were ready to put all the French to the ſword. Mem. d'Aubery du Maurier. The people ran about the ſtreet, crying, Behold, this is the marriage of Paris, let us kill theſe murderers. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. to the end.

did

did not offer to Monſieur for the injuſtice of their ſuſpicions, and the revolt they had occaſioned; but this outrage made a deep impreſſion on his heart, and he reſolved within himſelf to take a ſignal revenge for it. The prince of Orange was not a man that could be eaſily deceived; he began from that moment to be upon his guard; for he perceived the reſentment with which he was fired, and the rooted hatred he bore to proteſtants in general.

As for me, I had already received perſonal proofs of it; which, added to other cauſes of complaint that were given me by Monſieur, abſolutely diſguſted me with his ſervice. At firſt I attached myſelf ſolely to his perſon, and to pleaſe him ſpared neither labour nor expence; I thought therefore that I might ſolicit his intereſt with regard to my pretenſions to the eſtate of the viſcount de Gand, which reverted to me. He received my requeſt very coldly, put me off with delays, and at laſt, when I preſt him one day on the ſubject, he told me very cavalierly, that he could not gratify two perſons at the ſame time; and that my couſin * the prince of Epinoy had obtained, without any trouble, what I had laboured for with ſo much aſſiduity. There was ſomething in this anſwer more diſobliging than the refuſal itſelf; I was ſenſibly affected with it, and a few days after had a convincing proof of the little ſhare myſelf, and the other proteſtant officers had in his favour, when I heard him ſay publicly, that he had juſt baniſhed d'Avantigny from his council, the laſt of the proteſtants to whom he confided his ſecrets, and he was now perfectly eaſy. From that time I reſolved to quit this ungrateful prince; and while I waited for an opportunity to return into France, applied myſelf to gain the favour of the prince of Orange, in whom I found all thoſe qualities in which Monſieur was deficient. I remember, a few days before

* Robert de Melun prince of Epinoy, ſon to the marquis of Richebourg.

the

the treacherous attempt upon Antwerp, that I was at this prince's palace with Sainte Aldegonde†, and a miniſter named Villiers; when, ſpeaking of Monſieur and the catholics, by whom he was governed, he ſaid, "Theſe men have deſigns pernicious both for themſelves and us, in which, it is "my opinion, they will not find their account; "and I intreat you, ſir, added he, turning to me, "not to go far from my lodgings." He thought very juſtly; and his diligence finiſhing what his foreſight had begun, Monſieur ſuffered the double reproach of unſucceſsful treachery‡.

HAVING aſſembled his army in the plain, under pretence of reviewing it, he went out of Antwerp one day in February, and ordered his ſoldiers to enter the city again by thoſe gates that were at his diſpoſal, and to make themſelves maſters of it by force. Accordingly his men threw themſelves into Antwerp, as into a city taken by aſſault, crying out, "Kill, kill, the city is ours; maſs for ever." But their triumph laſted not long: the prince of Orange, who carefully obſerved every ſtep of Monſieurs, gave ſuch good orders every where, or rather cauſed thoſe he had long before given, to be ſo well executed, that Monſieur's ſoldiers were all either repulſed, cut in pieces, or forced to throw themſelves off the walls; for their terror was ſo great, that thoſe who could not get at the gates, becauſe of the great number of carcaſes that obſtructed their way, had recourſe to that dreadful expedient. I had mounted my horſe two hours after noon, to go and join Monſieur in the field; but before I had got out of the city, the loud ſhouts of the aſſailants ſtruck my ears,

† Philip Marnix, lord of Sainte Aldegonde.

‡ About that time the ſame attempt was made, by Monſieur's orders, on the principal cities of Flanders; the plot ſucceeded upon Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Dendermonde, but failed upon Bruges, Oſtend, Nieuport, &c. De Thou, book lxxvii. The duke of Montpenſier, and the marſhal Biron endeavoured in vain to diſſuade Monſieur from this enterprize. Matthieu, ibid.

and

and in the ſame moment I met the prince of Orange, who deſired me and ſome other French gentlemen of the reformed religion, who were with me, to retire to his lodgings. As Frenchmen we could not expect to be ſafe at that time in the city, and, as huguenots, we had every thing to fear from the French army, who had taken poſſeſſion of it. We followed his advice, therefore, and he returned to us as ſoon as he had reſtored quiet to the city. The care he took to pacify the Dutch, and prevail upon them to forget a behaviour ſo inexcuſable, is a proof that he bore with regret, and only in his own defence, an action which no Frenchman diſapproved of. It was not his fault that the proteſtant party in Flanders was not reconciled to Monſieur; and as for us, as ſoon as he knew we intended to join this prince, he put us into a condition to do it without danger.

We found ourſelves greatly perplexed in the neighbourhood of Mechlin, whoſe inhabitants, by opening their ſluices, had formed a large marſh. Four or five thouſand foot, and as many horſe of Monſieur's army, periſhed there by cold and hunger, in a moſt rigorous ſeaſon. Monſieur, however, ſtaid five or ſix months in Flanders after this fatal enterprize: but his army had been ſo conſiderably leſſened, and the remainder ſo broken with fatigue, the cities ſo well guarded, and, to compleat his misfortunes, the prince of Parma returned with an army ſo vaſtly ſuperior to his, that he was at laſt obliged to go back to France with the duke de Montpenſier, and the marechal de Biron, leaving nothing behind him in the Low Countries but the remembrance of a name juſtly deteſtable.

A prince who has not prudence enough to conceal his hatred of perſons whoſe ſervices become neceſſary to him, muſt be unhappy; but this muſt be owned, to the advantage of virtue, that it ſecures, by the moſt infallible means, the ſucceſs of all great enterprizes. Wiſdom, equity, diſcipline, order, courage, good fortune; qualities which ſucceed each other in the order they are mentioned, form the chain of

of action in truly great men. The proceedings of thoſe who unjuſtly arrogate to themſelves that title, offer, on the contrary, nothing but raſhneſs and obſtinacy, the companions of blind ambition. A vain confidence in their talents, preſumptuous dependence on their good fortune; all conſequences of flattery, which generally enſlaves no perſons ſo much, as thoſe falſe heroes who think themſelves born to ſubject the whole world.

I COULD not reſolve to leave Flanders without viewing thoſe places where my anceſtors were born; and having procured a paſſport from the count of Barlaymont*, I went to Baſſee, to viſit madam de Maſtin, my aunt. She received me as a nephew whom ſhe had diſinherited, becauſe he neither believed in God nor his ſaints, and worſhipped the devil. This notion, father Silveſter, a cordelier, a famous preacher, and this lady's director, had thought proper to give her of all proteſtants; and ſhe took it upon his word. She carried me with her to ſee an abbey ſhe had founded; and as ſhe was ſhewing me ſome fine tombs of my anceſtors, which ſhe had cauſed to be erected there, took occaſion to ſpeak to me on the ſubject of my faith. If I was aſtoniſhed to hear her utter theſe extravagant whims that father Silveſter had put into her head, ſhe was no leſs ſurprized to hear me repeat the creed, and all thoſe prayers which we uſe in common with the roman catholics. With her reaſon, nature was alſo awakened; her great ſimplicity was the cauſe of the little tenderneſs ſhe had ſhewn me. She embraced me with tears in her eyes, and promiſed me not only the certain ſucceſſion to her eſtates, but alſo engaged to get thoſe of the viſcount de Gand reſtored to me. This at the time was her ſincere intention; but father Silveſter, no doubt, found better reaſons to prevent the effect of thoſe good deſigns, for none of them were ever executed.

* Claude de Barlaymont, lord of Hautepenne.

I HAD

I HAD an earneſt deſire to ſee the city of Bethune, the country, and ancient inheritance of my anceſtors, who for a long time were in poſſeſſion of very conſiderable eſtates there. The treachery Monſieur had uſed towards the city of Antwerp, rendered all the other cities of the Low Countries ſuſpicious; they would not ſuffer me to enter Bethune till I had ſhewn my paſſport, declared my name, and convinced them I came from madam de Maſtin; which produced an effect I little expected: I had taken the road to an inn, whoſe ſign was the coronet of the family of Bethune, when I ſaw a platoon of foot approach, that gave me ſome apprehenſions. It was, however, the burgeſſes of the city, who, full of reſpect for the blood of their ancient lords, no ſooner heard my name, than they reſolved to pay me all poſſible honours, and brought me a preſent of wine, and other refections. Before I left this city, I viſited and examined with great exactneſs, and a ſecret pleaſure, all the public and private monuments which preſerved to poſterity the remembrance of the benefits my anceſtors conferred on this city, and its gratitude for them.

HAVING nothing more to detain me in Flanders, I returned to France, and took the direct road to Roſny, which I left immediately, and went to Guyenne, full of joy to meet again the king of Navarre after ſo long an abſence. This prince's reception of me was ſuch as left me no room to doubt that my return was very acceptable to him. He obliged me to relate all my adventures, and thoſe of Monſieur, and when I had finiſhed, "Well, ſaid "he to me, is not this the accompliſhment of all "I predicted of this prince, in my converſation "with you at Coutras; but the viſcount de Tu-"renne, whom I diſſuaded as much as poſſible "from following him, has ſucceeded much worſe "than you."

MONSIEUR's

MONSIEUR's expedition into the Low Countries had enraged the king of Spain to ſuch a degree, as to make him endeavour to gain the king of Navarre's friendſhip, and offer him ſupplies for renewing the war with the royaliſts of France. This propoſition he received at Hagemau, whither he went to viſit the counteſs of Guiche*; for his paſſion for this lady was then at its height. The diſtruſt Henry always entertained of Spain, and his natural antipathy to that court, prevented his giving any credit to it. I will not take upon me to anſwer for the ſincerity of the Spaniards in theſe offers, which were made him at different times by Benardin de Mandoce, the chevalier Moreau, and Calderon; however, I believe there were ſome intervals, in which the king of Spain dealt faithfully with the king of Navarre†. But be that as it will, the king of Navarre gave no anſwer to this propoſition, and made no other uſe of it than to convince the king and queen-mother of the juſtice of his deſigns. He ſent me therefore to Paris, to inform them of the ſtep which Spain had taken.

THERE was no longer any acceſs to be had to the king; he had retired to Vincennes, where he ſaw none but his favourites, and the miniſters of his pleaſures. I expected to have been introduced to

* Diana, or Coriſande Dandoins, viſcounteſs of Louzigny, &c. wife, and afterwards widow of Philibert count of Grammont. In the obſervations upon the amours of Alcander the great, this lady is ſaid to have ſent Henry IV. three or four and twenty thouſand Gaſcons levied at her own expence. It is alſo mentioned there, that ſhe had a ſon named Antony, whom that prince offered to acknowledge for his own; but the young man replied, that he choſe rather to be conſidered as a gentleman, than the baſtard of a king. Journal of Henry the third's reign, p. 279.

† That which induced him to believe this, was, that to this letter of the king of Spain's, preſented to the king of Navarre by the chevalier Moreau, or the commander Morée, as Davila calls him, book ii. was added on offer of fifty thouſand crowns, made by the ſame chevalier to the viſcount de Chaux, on the frontier of Bearn, to maintain the king of Navarre's army; provided he would turn his arms againſt France. Mem. of the league, Vol. V.

him

him by the queen of Navarre; for this princeſs, whoſe temper could not agree with that of the king her huſband, had ‡ left him to return to the court of France: but I learnt from madam de Bethune, that ſhe was on no better terms with the queen her mother, and the king her brother. I then had recourſe to madam de Sauves, who procured me an audience of Catherine. The affair ſeemed to her to be important, ſhe mentioned it to the king, and a negotiation was begun there. I even obtained from his majeſty a credential letter to the king of Navarre; but what reliance ought one to have on the determinations of a court, that, as it ſhou'd ſeem, never formed a good deſign that was not immediately repented of? The queen-mother thought fit to make no other uſe of the king of Navarre's confidence, than to enter into a ſtricter union with Spain: which came to Henry's knowledge by the reproaches the king of Spain made him, for having betrayed his ſecret.

The bad reception Monſieur met with at his return from Flanders, was one effect of this reconciliation with Spain. This prince retired to Chateau-Thierry, oppreſſed with grief. After my deputation was finiſhed, being at home, and engaged in no employment, curioſity led me to viſit Monſieur at Chateau-Thierry. I imagined his bad fortune would have made him wiſer; but it had only abated his pride. He received me with a kindneſs that I was far from thinking diſintereſted, and from which I immediately concluded, he had ſome great deſigns in his head. The advantageous offers made me in his name by Aurilly, who had procured me the honour of kiſſing his hand, convinced me I

‡ From that time they always lived ſeparate, notwithſtanding the reproaches which Henry III. often made the king of Navarre on that occaſion, and ſome others that are mentioned by l'Etoile. One day, when the latter received ſome very ſharp letters from Henry III. "The king, ſaid he, in all his letters, honours me greatly; for by "the firſt he calls me C---, and by the laſt the ſon of P--.

was

was not miſtaken; but, amidſt the great projects § with which Monſieur was intoxicated, I diſcovered a melancholy and ſecret diſcontent that preyed upon his heart, and which nothing could remove. From hence proceeded that languiſhing diſorder, which ſome time after put an end to all his ambitious deſigns by death ‖.

At my return to Paris, I received an order from the king of Navarre to come to him upon ſome very important affairs. He was endeavouring to diſconcert, if poſſible, all the enterprizes of the league; a deſign which this wiſe prince had always in view. He had occaſion for a perſon, on whoſe probity he could rely, to reſide at the court of France, and ſtudy all its motions; and it was to charge me with this commiſſion, that he had commanded my attendance. He communicated his reflections to me, gave me all the neceſſary inſtructions, and when I took leave of him, embraced me ſeveral times, ſaying, "My friend, remember, that the firſt quality in a "man of true courage and worth, is to keep his "word inviolably; that which I have given to you, "I will never fail in." There was no neceſſity for racking my invention, to furniſh me with a pretence for this ſecond journey to Paris. The favour in which I had left my two younger brothers * at that court, afforded me a very plauſible one. They had

§ Monſieur took the titles of ſon of France, by the grace of God, duke of Lauthier, of Brabant, Luxembough, Guelderland, Alençon, Anjou, Tourain, Beary, Evreux, and Chatteau-Thierry, count of Flanders, of Holland, Zealand, Zulphen, Maine, Perche, Mante, Meulan, and Beauford, marquis of the holy Roman empire, lord of Frieſland, and Mechlin, defender of the Belgic liberty. Hercules was the name that was given him at his baptiſm, but when he was confirmed, it was changed to Francis.

‖ There is not any hiſtorian who doubts that he died by poiſon. His blood ran through all his pores, as if every vein had been burſt. De Thou, book lxviii. "This happened, ſays the Memoirs of Ne- "vers, by his having lain with La ——— who made him ſmell a "poiſoned noſegay." Ibid. p. 163. Buſbeq. Ep. 33, 35.

* Solomon and Philip de Bethune. The firſt as eldeſt, was called baron of Roſny, and was governor of Mante. The ſecond has formed

begun to create jealouſy in the favourites, for the king already made them his companions in his parties of devotion, which was a ſtep that was likely to lead them to the greateſt familiarity; however, on my arrival, I learned that they were diſgraced; the reaſon of which I did not know till a long time after, and it is of the number of thoſe things* that ought to be buried in oblivion. This accident did not hinder me from entering upon my new employment at Paris, and the court. I gave the king of Navarre exact intelligence of all that paſſed, that he might take ſuch meaſures as were moſt ſuitable to the ſtate of his affairs.

ENGAGED in this new kind of life, which obliged me by the nature of the employment I had undertaken, to frequent the court, to mix in the politeſt company of the city, to ſhare in their amuſements, their pleaſures, and even to be infected with their idleneſs; and being beſides in the prime and ſtrength of my age, it is not ſtrange that I ſhould pay the accuſtomed tribute to love. I became violently enamoured of the daughter of the preſident de St. Meſmin, one of the moſt beautiful ladies in France.

AT firſt, I wholly abandoned myſelf to a paſſion, which, in the beginning, is ſo delightful, that when I would have ſtifled it afterwards, upon reflecting that this alliance was not convenient for me, I found that conſideration too weak, when oppoſed to the friendſhip this whole family expreſſed for me, the eſteem of a father truly reſpectable, and the charms of a miſtreſs worthy my tendereſt affection. My own endeavours alone would not have been ſufficient to have broken this chain. La Fond †, to

ed the branch of the counts of Selles and Charoſt. By attaching themſelves to the perſon and party of the king of France, they both abjured the proteſtant religion, in which they had been educated.

* Thoſe who are curious to know it, need only conſult the ſeventh chapter of the Confeſſion of Sancy.

† La Fond was his valet de chambre. He is mentioned in another place.

divert

divert the courſe of my thoughts, propoſed to me to viſit mademoiſelle de Courtenay ‡, whom he earneſtly wiſhed I would make my addreſſes to, as a perſon who, in all reſpects, was much more ſuitable to me. I ſaw her, and approved this choice; but mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin ſoon deſtroyed all theſe wiſe reflections.

BEING one day at Nogent upon the Seine, attended by this la Fond, and ſome other perſons, I went to lodge at an inn, whither chance had conducted both mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin, and mademoiſelle de Courtenay, which I learnt the moment I entered the inn. This was one of the moſt delicate conjunctures imaginable, and I judged it would be impoſſible to leave the place without breaking for ever with that lady of the two, to whom I ſhould neglect to pay my firſt viſit and aſſiduities. In a caſe of this nature, no artifice, no addreſs can ſatisfy two women at the ſame time.

MADEMOISELLE de St. Meſmin's youngeſt ſiſter coming down ſtairs at that moment, found me abſorbed in reflection, like a man that was labouring to reconcile his reaſon with his love. She perceived it, and my confuſion affording her a fine opportunity to diſplay the vivacity of her wit, ſhe endeavoured to draw me to her ſiſter's feet; when la Fond approaching me, whiſper'd in my ear, "Turn to the right, "monſieur: there you will find a large eſtate, a "royal extraction, and equal beauty, when it ſhall "have attained to the age of perfection." Theſe few words, ſo ſeaſonably uttered, recalled my ſcattered reaſon, and fixed my wavering purpoſe. I was convinced the advice la Fond gave me was good, and that the only difference between the beauty of mademoiſelle de Courtenay and her rival, was, that the one was already in the poſſeſſion of charms, which a year or two more promiſed the other. I

‡ Anne de Courtenay, youngeſt daughter of Francis d'Courtenay, lord of Bontin.

ſent

ſent an excuſe for not attending mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin, which drew upon me great reproaches; but I courageouſly ſuſtained the aſſault, and went immediately after to viſit mademoiſelle de Courtenay, who valued this ſacrifice at its full price. She was pleaſed with the preference; and I applauded myſelf for it, when I conſidered my new miſtreſs with more attention, and that a few viſits more had given me a perfect knowledge of her character. My addreſſes were favorably received, and a ſhort time after this adventure, we were married ‖.

THE tenderneſs and aſſiduity due to an amiable bride, detained me in Roſny this whole year, amidſt rural employments, exerciſes, and diverſions; another kind of life not leſs new to me than the former. The country, to thoſe whoſe time has been divided between the court and the field, is generally an occaſion of double expence; but it affords many reſources to a man, who knows that good œconomy ſupplies the place of great riches. My turn for fine horſes, which I had cultivated merely for my pleaſure, did not make up a uſeleſs part of this domeſtic œconomy. I kept jockeys in my ſervice, whom I ſent to buy horſes in foreign countries, where they were cheap, and ſold them in Gaſcony, at the king of Navarre's court, where I never failed to draw large ſums for them. I remember to have ſold, amongſt others, a ſilver roan-horſe to the viſcount de Chartres, for ſix hundred crowns, which coſt me but forty. The tapeſtry that adorns the hall of Sully, in which are delineated the labours of Hercules, came from M. de Nemours de la Garnache, who paid me with that for a fine Spaniſh horſe that I had ſold to him at the rate of twelve hundred crowns.

TOWARDS the end of this year §, a letter from the king of Navarre drew me from a life ſo inactive:

‖ Guy de Bethune, ſon of Alpin de Bethune, great grandfather of M. de Roſny, had married one Frances de Courtenay Bontin.

§ The peace continuing in force till the following year, the Memoirs

he informed me, that the time in which he had foreſeen that the aſſiſtance of his faithful ſervants would be neceſſary, was now come: that the ſtate and our religion were threatened with the ſevereſt misfortunes, if immediate endeavours were not uſed to prevent them; and that he ſhould ſoon have a cruel war to ſuſtain. I inſtantly diſpoſed myſelf to attend this prince, taking with me, as well for his occaſions, as my own, forty-eight thouſand francs, which I raiſed by the ſale of a wood of high trees, that was cut down for that purpoſe.

In effect, the bold enterprizes of the league * broke out this year. One cannot reflect without

moirs of this and the preceding contain little concerning the king of Navarre. Le Grain relates the adventure that happened to him with captain Michau, who pretended to have quitted the ſervice of Spain, for that of this prince, in order to find ſome opportunity of murdering him treacherouſly. "One day, ſays he, when the king of Na-" varre was hunting in the foreſts of Aillas, he perceived Michau " juſt behind him, well mounted, with a couple of piſtols cocked " and primed. The king was alone and unattended, it being cuſto-" mary for hunters to ſeparate; and ſeeing him approach, "Captain " Michau, ſaid he to him, with a bold and determined air, diſmount; " I have a mind to make trial of your horſe, that I may know if it " be as good a one as you ſay it is." The captain obeyed, and " diſmounting, the king got upon his horſe, and taking the piſtols, " Do you deſign to ſhoot me with one of theſe? ſaid he: I am told, " you intend to kill me, but in the mean time I can kill you if I " pleaſe." Saying this, he diſcharged the two piſtols in the air, " and commanded the captain to follow him. Michau, having good " reaſons to deſire to be excuſed, took leave of him two days after, " and never after appeared." Decade of Henry the great, book viii. Buſbeq, who at that time reſided at Paris, in the quality of ambaſſador from the emperor Rodolphus II. aſſures us alſo, in his letters, that a deſerter, whom he does not name, adminiſtered poiſon to the king of Navarre; but that this prince, either by the ſtrength of his conſtitution, or the weakneſs of the poiſon, felt no bad effects from it: and adds, that this ſame man having attempted afterwards to ſhoot him with a piſtol, and failed, was taken and put to the torture; and that it was known, by the behaviour of Henry III. upon this occaſion, that he had no part in the deſigned aſſaſſination. Epiſtle 46.

* The firſt ſtep which diſcovered the deſigns of the league, was an aſſociation of princes, prelates, and gentlemen of Picardy, who met at Peronne, to avoid obeying the edict of ſixty-three articles, given in the year 1576, in favour of the proteſtants. The manifeſto that was there drawn up, ſerved for a model to all the other provinces, and even to the ſtates of Blois, which were ſummoned about the end of

horror, that in leſs than four years, ten royal armies fell upon the king of Navarre, when the danger that equally threatened the two kings was turned againſt him alone, through the weakneſs of

of that year, and whoſe reſolutions obliged Henry III. to declare himſelf the head of the catholics againſt the huguenots, that he might not leave this title to be aſſumed by the duke of Guiſe. At firſt, they talked only of maintaining the catholic religion alone in the kingdom, but at length a debate concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown was introduced, in which they brought the pope and king of Spain. See the form of theſe aſſociations in the MS. volume marked 8826, in the king's library, p. 160. The conſpiracy of the nobility of Normandy, with the oath to preſerve the catholic religion in France, and the crown to the houſe of Valois, ſee in vol 8832, p. 5. All this volume is likewiſe filled with Memoirs relating to the league, and the firſt ſtates of Blois. See alſo the treaty of the league made with the king of Spain at the caſtle of Joinville, and ſigned by the reſpective parties, with many other pieces on the ſame ſubject, vol. 8866. All, or part of theſe pieces, with very curious circumſtances relating to the ſame ſubject, may be found in different authors, ſuch as the Memoirs of Nevers. vol. I. Memoirs of the league, vol. I. Memoirs of ſtate by Villeroy, vol. II. De Thou, book lxiii. and lxxxi. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book iii. chap. 3. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. and viii. Le Noyennaire de Cayet, vol. I. at the beginning; and many others. Many perſons believe the origin of the league to be much more ancient, and that it took its riſe in the council of Trent, through the endeavours of the cardinal of Lorrain, the uncle; during which Francis duke of Guiſe on his ſide formed the plan of it in France; but the death of the latter ſuſpended the effect. 'Tis pretended alſo, that Don John of Auſtria paſſing through France, in his way to Flanders, concerted the ſcheme with the duke of Guiſe. The college of Forteret has paſſed for the cradle of the league. 'Tis ſaid that an advocate, named David, carried the Memoirs to Rome; and that theſe Memoirs, which may be read in the firſt volume of the Memoirs of the league, being intercepted by the huguenots, gave them the firſt certainty of it. Some perſons have doubted whether this advocate, who died in his journey to Rome, or, as others ſay, in his return thence, did not treat with the pope by his own motion, and agreeably to his own opinion: which is not leſs probable. As for Henry III. he certainly deſerves all the reproaches which the duke of Sully here caſts upon him. He had undeniable proofs of his enemies deſigns upon the royal authority; to whom, when he broke the edict of pacification in 1577, he ſaid aloud theſe words, "I am much afraid, that by our endeavours to ſuppreſs calviniſm, we ſhall bring the maſs into danger." We are aſſured, that all the ſecrets of the league were diſcovered by a gentleman named la Rochette, to whom they were entruſted, and who ſuffered himſelf to be taken on purpoſe, that he might reveal them without danger. In a word, 'tis alſo certain, that the duke of Guiſe began to raiſe the ſtandard of his party in the year 1585, when he was ſtill ſo weak, that he could not depend

Henry III. who allowed his own enemies to give laws to him, and conducted himſelf the hand that ſought to overthrow his authority.

Henry III. perceiving the league would publicly raiſe the ſtandard of revolt, waked a little from the lethargy into which he had been plunged, and thought proper to ſend the duke de Joyeuſe * into Normandy, to oppoſe the duke d'Elbœuf §, who kept an army there, which the league made uſe of to extort the famous edict of July †, wherein all the huguenots were ordered, either to go to maſs, or to leave the kingdom in ſix months.

Joyeuse, who had my two brothers in his army, paſſed by Roſny, and prevailed upon me, without much difficulty, to go with him: by attacking the league, the friends of the king of Navarre entered into his true intereſts. I gave him the beſt reception in my power, but nothing charmed him ſo much as the beauty of my horſes.

Lavardin likewiſe took his way through Roſny, but went to lodge at the extremity of the town. Chicot ‖, who would always give free ſcope to his hu-

pend upon more than four thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe. Beauvais Nangis alſo (and he relates it himſelf in his Memoirs) aſked him one day what he intended to do if the king ſhould come to attack him: "I will retire immediately to Germany, replied the duke, and there "wait for a more favourable opportunity."

* Anne duke of Joyeuſe, the eldeſt of ſeven ſons of William of Joyeuſe.

§ Claude of Lorrain.

† This was the treaty of Nemours, the triumph of the league, and the diſgrace of Henry III. Henry IV. told the marquis de la Force, in the preſence of Matthieu, who relates it in his eighth book, that the moment he was informed of this ſhameful weakneſs of the king of France, his muſtaches turned ſuddenly white on that ſide of his face, which he ſupported with his hand. Sixtus the fifth appeared aſhamed himſelf; and by the ſame bull of September the 5th, 1585, wherein he excommunicated all that aſſiſted the hugueniots, he likewiſe excommunicated thoſe who undertook any thing againſt the king and kingdom. He foreſaw at that time all the miſeries that would befall France. See theſe articles of Nemours, and the proceedings of the league in France and Rome, vol. I. of the Memoirs of Nevers, p. 661. and following.

‖ Chicot was a Gaſcon, brave, rich, and a buffoon. At the ſiege of Rouen, he wounded Henry of Lorrain, count of Chaligny, in the

mour, reſolved to divert himſelf at Lavardin's expence, whom he called a madman; and ſending for him one day, told him with a myſterious air, that that devil of a huguenot (meaning me) certainly intended to keep the deaf man (a nickname he gave likewiſe to the duke of Joyeuſe) priſoner. Lavardin, without reflecting that this attempt would be uſeleſs, though it had not been ridiculous, armed himſelf immediately, with all his domeſtics, and came with them in bravado before my door; where he was obliged to bear the railleries of the whole company, who did not ſpare him.

WHAT I am now going to ſay, will hardly appear credible. We ſet out together, and had ſcarcely reached Verneuil, when the duke of Joyeuſe received a packet from court, which informed him, that the king had concluded a peace with the league, and that it was his majeſty's intention, that the army, which two days ago was to ſupport him againſt the league *, ſhould be led againſt the king of Navarre.

thigh; and taking him priſoner, preſented him to Henry IV. ſaying, "Here, keep what I give thee." The count, enraged at being taken by a fool, gave him a blow on the head with the hilt of his ſword, which killed him. He uſed to ſay whatever he pleaſed to the king, without giving him any offence. When the duke of Parma came to France, Chicot ſaid to the king, before all the courtiers, "My "friend, I ſee very well that all you do will ſignify nothing, un- "leſs you either turn catholic, or pretend you are one." Another time he ſaid to him, "I am convinced that to be peaceably king of "France, you would give both papiſts and huguenots to Lucifer's "clerk; ſo true it is, that you kings have no religion but in appear- "ance." "I am not ſurprized," ſaid he another time to his majeſty, "that ſo many perſons deſire to be kings: it is a good trade, "and by working at it only an hour in a day, one may make ſuffi- "cient proviſion for the reſt of the week, without being obliged to "one's neighbours; but for God's ſake, my friend, take care and "keep out of the hands of the leaguers, for if you ſhould fall into "ſome of them, they would hang you up like a hog's gut, and write "upon your gibbet, At the crown of France and Navarre, are good "lodgings to be lett." Memoirs for the hiſtory of France, vol. II. p. 72.

* The king was obliged to it at Châlons by the leaguers, who were aſſembled there. He ſcarcely excuſed himſelf to the king of Navarre, upon the neceſſity he was driven to. This prince and the queen

Joyeuſe, in relating this to me, added, "Well! "monſieur le baron de Roſny, this ſtroke will give "me a cheap bargain of your fine horſes, for the "war is declared againſt the proteſtants; but I per- "ſuade myſelf, continued he, that you will not be "ſo ſimple as to join the king of Navarre, and by "embarking in a cauſe that will infallibly be ruin- "ed, loſe your fine eſtate of Roſny."

THE duke might have ſpoken much longer without interruption; for although I was ſufficiently acquainted with the court, ſo that nothing from that quarter could ſurprize me, yet I could not reflect, without aſtoniſhment, upon thoſe difficulties through which fortune ſeemed to take a pleaſure in leading the king of Navarre, before ſhe conducted him to that greatneſs which was deſtined for him; for I was always perſuaded of this in my own mind, and the predictions of la Broſſe were continually preſent to me. My anſwer, therefore, to Joyeuſe, turned wholly upon theſe preſages; after which I quitted him abruptly. This ſtep might appear a little extravagant to him; and I have been informed, that he ſaid to thoſe about him, "There goes a conſummate "fool; but he will be finely deluded by his "ſorcerer."

I RETURNED to my houſe, from whence I ſet out again immediately, after taking ſome meaſures conformable to the ſudden change which had ſo lately happened. I went directly to Guienne, where the king of Navarre was, and ſtaid with him four or five months, during which he was employed in making preparations againſt the ſtorm that was burſting upon him. He carried me with him to Montauban,

queen his mother ſuffered themſelves to be unſeaſonably intimidated by the threats of the league, whoſe forces were exaggerated, although it would not have been difficult to have deſtroyed them in the beginning. The council miſſed an opportunity of uniting the Low Countries to the crown, by ſending back the deputies from thoſe provinces, without an anſwer, who came to offer the ſovereignty of them to the king, provided he would march with his troops on that ſide. Thus were two great errors committed at one time. De Thou, book lxxxi.

where he held ſeveral conferences with the proteſtants upon the part it was neceſſary they ſhould take in this conjuncture. Unhappily for them, upon this occaſion, when all was at ſtake, they did not underſtand their true intereſt ſufficiently, at leaſt ſo as to oblige them to a perfect union amongſt themſelves, and a faithful concurrence in the ſame deſigns. From that time, ſome of the principal leaders thought more of their own advancement than the king's, without conſidering that their fortunes were ſo cloſely connected with his, that if he failed, it would be impoſſible for them to ſucceed. Each was for building a fortune for himſelf, independent of the general plan.

THIS diſunion of minds ſhewed itſelf more apparently in a private conference held at St. Paul de Lamiate*, where audience was given to a doctor of divinity, named Butrick, ſent thither by the elector Palatine. It was there that the viſcount de Turenne gave the firſt indications of that turbulent, falſe, and ambitious ſpirit, which formed his character. He had, in concert with this Butrick, projected a new ſyſtem† of government, into which they had drawn monſieurs de Conſtans, d'Aubigné, de St. Germain-Beaupré, de St. Germain de Clan, de Brezolles, and others. They wanted to form the calviniſt part of France into a kind of republican ſtate, under the protection of the elector Palatine; and five or ſix lieutenants in his name were to be ſent into the different provinces.

IF we examine this project, it will eaſily appear, that the king of Navarre was but little obliged to

* In the biſhopric of Caſtres.

† The hiſtorian who gives us the life of the duke of Bouillon, does not deny that theſe were the views of this calviniſt nobleman. He was a very able politician, extremely ambitious, paſſionately deſirous of the quality of leader of the calviniſts of France, and very capable of filling that poſt. This is all that can be ſaid of him, to ſoften thoſe terms, rather too ſevere, which monſieur de Sully frequently makes uſe of in theſe Memoirs, when he ſpeaks of the duke of Bouillon.

theſe

theſe gentlemen, ſince by this plan they blended the princes of the blood with the officers of the proteſtant party, and reduced them all to the quality of lieutenants under a petty foreign prince. This was not the only time that the king of Navarre found ſecret enemies in his councils, amongſt his dependents, and, in appearance, moſt faithful ſervants, and even amongſt his own friends and relations.

FROM men all things may be expected; they are not to be kept firm to their duty, integrity, and the laws of ſociety, by fidelity and virtue, but by their hopes and wiſhes. But how could theſe conſummate politicians undertake to mention unity and conduct in their pretended republic? they, who were for giving it ſo many heads, each independent of the other, and all under little ſubjection to a protector too weak to make himſelf be obeyed. It was perceived immediately, that their deſign was to make themſelves ſo many ſovereigns in their ſeveral diſtricts, not foreſeeing that by that means they would only deliver up each other to the diſcretion of Spain, and the league, who would eaſily deſtroy them, by attacking them ſeparately.

ALTHOUGH theſe cabals of the principal officers in the proteſtant party with a foreigner, were carried on privately enough, yet happily they did not hinder the better party from prevailing in the aſſembly. The duke of Montmorency * was of opinion, that in the preſent danger we ſhould be all united, and keep ourſelves effectually upon the defenſive. I inſiſted, in all the councils, upon the neceſſity of acknowledging the authority of one only head, and of not weakening our power by dividing it. As we came out from one of theſe councils, the king of Navarre drawing me aſide, ſaid to me, "Monſieur le baron "de Roſny, it is not enough to ſpeak well, we muſt "act ſtill better: are you not reſolved that we ſhould

* This is Henry, marechal Damville, afterwards duke of Montmorency.

"die together? it is no longer time to be frugal; "all men of honour, and who have their religion at "heart, muſt venture one half of their eſtates to ſave "the other. I am perſuaded that you will be "amongſt the firſt to aſſiſt me, and I promiſe you, if "I ſucceed, you ſhall partake of my good fortune." "No, no, ſir, replied I, we will not die, but we "will live together, and make our enemies ſhorter "by their heads. I have ſtill a wood that will pro-"duce me a hundred houſand francs, and all ſhall be "employed on this occaſion; you ſhall give me "more when you are rich, which will certainly "happen. I had a preceptor who was poſſeſſed by a "devil, and he foretold it me." The king of Navarre could not help ſmiling at this ſally, and embracing me cloſely, "Well, my friend, ſaid he to me, "return to your houſe, be diligent, and come to me "ſoon again, with as many of your friends as you "can bring with you, and do not forget your wood "of high trees." He afterwards communicated to me the deſign he had to draw the war to Paris, or at leaſt to the Loire; which was, in effect, the only means of ſucceeding. He told me alſo, that he carried on a private correſpondence in Angers, but that he feared the prince of Condé would by his precipitation obſtruct his deſigns there, more than the catholics; the event will ſhew if he judged rightly. He promiſed to inform me of all that paſſed, and took leave of me, with a thouſand teſtimonies of friendſhip, which I ſhall never forget.

I ARRIVED at Bergerac, almoſt in the ſame moment that the cardinal de Lenoncourt*, Mr. de Sillery, and Mr. de Poigny came thither alſo, being deputed by the court to the king of Navarre, to repreſent to him, for the laſt time, the neceſſity he was under of ſubmitting to the king's pleaſure, and of

* Philip de Lenoncourt, cardinal and archbiſhop of Rheims. Nicholas Brulart, marquis of Sillery, afterwards chancellor. John d'Angenes, lord of Poigny.

changing

changing his religion †. Poigny came to me the next day, diſcloſing to me the purport of his commiſſion, and aſked me what I thought would be the event of his journey. I aſſured him that he was giving himſelf an uſeleſs trouble; and that on an occaſion when religion, the ſtate, and the royal authority were in ſo great danger, it would not be words only that could prevail upon the king of Navarre. He ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, ſighed at my anſwer, and inſtead of replying, "I believe, ſaid he to me, it "will be a difficult thing to procure a maſs in this "city." I conducted him to the chapel myſelf with the other deputies, being deſirous to perſuade them by this liberty that was allowed to catholics, in a city wherein the proteſtants were maſters, that we were not the real enemies of the king.

WHAT I had foretold the deputies of the event of their commiſſion, exactly happened. As for me, I

† In the Memoirs of the life of J. A. de Thou, book lii. there is a converſation which Michael de Montagne had with this preſident, that the reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee here. "As they were "diſcourſing, ſays the author, upon the cauſes of the preſent trou-"bles, Montagne told the preſident, that he had been a mediator be-"tween the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guiſe, when theſe "princes were at the court; and that the latter by his cares, his ſer-"vices, and aſſiduities, made advances to gain the king of Navarre's "friendſhip; but finding that he made a jeſt of him, and that after "all his endeavours he was ſtill an implacable enemy, he had recourſe "to war as the laſt reſource to defend the honour of his family; that "the enmity which raged in the minds of theſe two perſons, was the "cauſe of a war, which was at preſent ſo far kindled, that only the "death of one of them could extinguiſh it; that neither the duke, or "any of his family, believed themſelves ſecure, while the king of "Navarre lived; and the king of Navarre, on his ſide, was perſuad-"ed, that he ſhould draw no advantage from his right of ſucceſſion to "the crown, during the duke's life. As for religion, added he, "which they both make ſuch a noiſe about, it is a good pretence to "procure adherents, but neither of them is much affected by it. The "fear of being abandoned by the proteſtants, is the ſole cauſe that pre-"vents the king of Navarre from embracing the religion of his an-"ceſtors, nor would the duke recede from the confeſſion of Aug-"ſburg, if his uncle Charles, cardinal of Lorrain had convinced him, "that he might follow it without prejudice to his intereſt. Theſe, "he ſaid, were the ſentiments he diſcovered in theſe princes, when "he was employed in their affairs."

continued my journey to Paris, where, on my arrival, I found nothing was talked of but the deſign of ruining the king of Navarre entirely, and extirpating the huguenots. Every thing there was conducted according to the inclination of the league, which, ſince the ſhameful ſtep the king had taken, ruled deſpotically, and all the worthy Frenchmen that remained, were under a neceſſity of lamenting in private the misfortunes which the king's weakneſs had drawn upon the kingdom. It was to theſe that I addreſſed myſelf, and I had ſome conference with Meſſ. de Rambouillet, de Montbazon * the elder, d'Aumont, de la Rocheguion, des Arpentis, and ſome others. They all aſſured me, that when once the king of Navarre ſhould appear in the neighbourhood of the Loire, he ſhould ſoon ſee a conſiderable number of true Frenchmen in his train. I confirmed them as much as I was able in theſe good reſolutions †, and after I had bought ſome horſes at Paris, I made haſte to procure thoſe ſums I had promiſed the king.

I LEARNT by public report, what had happened at Angers: but, in order to give a diſtinct account of it, it is neceſſary to take the ſtory a little higher. Briſſac ‡, who was governor of the caſtle of this city, placed a lieutenant there in his abſence, called captain Grec, with twenty ſoldiers, on whoſe fidelity he had an entire reliance. Two of theſe ſoldiers, having been formerly of the reformed religion, ſuffered themſelves to be gained by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to deliver up the caſtle to them,

* Nicholas d'Angennes, marquis of Rambouillet. Lewis de Rohan, created duke of Montbazon, in the year 1588. John d'Aumont, marechal of France. ------- de Silly, count of Rocheguion. Lewis de Bois, lord of Arpentis, maſter of the king's wardrobe, governor of Touraine.

† Monſieur de Roſny's negotiations with Henry III. is mentioned by de Thou, book lxxii.

‡ Charles de Coſſy, count de Briſſac.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

which

which would neceſſarily be followed by the ſurrender of the city. When it was known at Angers, that Henry III. had joined with the king of Navarre againſt the league, a third party was formed, headed by du Hallot †, who likewiſe endeavoured to gain Rochemorte and Freſne, ſo were the two ſoldiers named. Matters did not long continue in this ſtate; the two ſoldiers, preſſed by the prince of Condé, ſurprized captain Grec, and killed him, together with ſome of his men: after which they ſeized upon the caſtle. Du Hallot, who knew not of the change that had ſo lately happened at court, gave himſelf no trouble about this action; on the contrary, he ſatisfied the people, by repreſenting to them, that the two ſoldiers had only acted according to the king's orders; and he remained in this error, till offering to enter the caſtle, he himſelf experienced the treachery of Rochemorte and Freſne, and through his miſtake, ſuffered death upon the wheel ‡.

HITHERTO every thing ſucceeded for the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé's party. But they ſoon experienced the inſtability of fortune. Rochemorte having been drawn beyond the bridge by the catholics, who kept the caſtle inveſted, perceiving that their deſign was to ſurprize the place, and make him their priſoner, endeavoured to get in again. In this tumult, thoſe within the caſtle thought of nothing but of drawing up the bridge immediately. Rochemorte graſped the chains, which loſing from his hold, he fell into the ditch, where a ſtag that was feeding, diſpatched him by tearing him in pieces. Freſne only remained, who, two days after, as he was ſleeping upon a parapet on the wall, where he thought himſelf in ſafety, was killed by a carbine, ſhot from the other ſide of the river, at the diſtance of above 500 paces. After which the catholics

† Michael Bourrouge du Hallot. Lewis Bouchereau de Rochemorte. Leon de Freſne.

‡ The king was ſo much afraid of the league, that he publicly diſavowed du Hallot's enterprize.

drove out the reſt of the huguenots from the city and caſtle, with the ſame facility that they had ſeized it. Things would not have taken this unfavourable turn, if the king of Navarre had conducted the enterprize alone; for he would not have ſuffered the two conſpirators to begin their operation, till he was at the gate to ſupport them with his whole army.

THIS ill-concerted ſcheme produced more misfortunes; the prince of Condé being engaged in the ſiege of Brouage, when news was brought him, that his party had ſurprized Angers, balanced not a moment whether he ſhould quit the ſiege, but went immediately to the aſſiſtance of his confederates at Angers; where arriving too late, he failed in both his deſigns. This was not all; the whole catholic army being idle and diſperſed, aſſembled again in the neighbourhood of Angers, which took away all poſſibility of regaining it, precipitated all the actions of the campaign, and brought the prince of Condé himſelf, as we ſhall ſee preſently, into a danger, from whence he eſcaped but by a ſingular inſtance of good fortune.

AFTER this firſt act of hoſtility on the proteſtant ſide, I believed it would be no longer poſſible to keep any meaſures with the catholics. If to continue at Roſny, therefore, was dangerous, the country being overſpread with royaliſts, it was no leſs ſo to endeavour to make my way to the king of Navarre: however, I reſolved upon this laſt expedient, being convinced, that he never had more need of my aſſiſtance than in the preſent conjuncture; and that the difficulty of ſending diſpatches through the midſt of an enemy's army, was the only cauſe of my not hearing from him as he had promiſed. * Meſſieurs de Mouy, de Feuquieres, and Morinville, to whom I imparted my deſign, judging it to be too hazardous,

* Iſaac Vaudre, or Vaudray, lord of Mouy. ----- de Pas-Feuquieres.

ref uſed

refuſed to accompany me; but this did not hinder me from ſetting out on my journey, attended only by ſix gentlemen, and my domeſtics, two of whom carried portmanteaus, in each of which were ſix thouſand crowns.

I LAY the firſt night at Nonancourt †, and the ſecond at Chateaudun ‡. Hitherto no unfortunate accident befel me, for although we every where met with great numbers of catholic ſoldiers, yet they all ſuppoſed I was going, like them, to join the body of the duke of Joyeuſe's army; with whom, as a ſoldier, named Mothepotain, informed me, every thing went very well. I left Chateaudun before day, leſt I ſhould be diſcovered, and came to Vendome; where not being willing to be known by Bénehart *, I made Boiſbrueil, one of the gentlemen in my train, paſs for the maſter of the troop, and I mounted, like one of the domeſtics, upon a horſe that carried baggage. He who appeared to be the chief amongſt us, was aſked ſeveral queſtions, to which he made proper anſwers, and we were ſuffered to paſs. We traverſed the whole city, in order to lodge in the moſt diſtant part of the ſuburbs. Bénehart, who believed us to be catholics, as we had aſſured him we were, very obligingly ſent to adviſe us to return into the city, becauſe the prince of Condé's army, which had been repulſed before Angers, were diſperſed over the country, and ſometimes made excurſions to the gates of the city, which rendered our ſtay in the ſuburbs very dangerous. What he repreſented to us as a misfortune we ſhould have looked upon as a very great happineſs; but there was a neceſſity for concealing it: therefore, the pretended maſter of the equipage, ſeeming to approve of this advice, ordered the baggage to be put upon the horſes again, that we might return into the city. It belonged to me, who performed the part of a domeſtic, ſecretly.

† In Perche. ‡ In the county of Chartrain.
* James de Maillé de Bénehart, governor of Vendome.

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to protract our ſtay till the night approached. The hurry and confuſion, occaſioned by the removal of all the people who lodged there, for the order was general, kept our artifice unſuſpected: at length, we in reality made preparations for going, as well as the reſt; but after our horſes had been fed and refreſhed, and the night half over, we mounted, and, inſtead of entering the city, filed off into a bye ſtreet, which I had cauſed to be reconnoitred, and got into the fields on that ſide, where I ſuppoſed the prince of Condé's army might be.

We had, however, reaſon to apprehend, that the artifice which had hitherto proved ſo ſucceſsful, would occaſion our ruin, through the impoſſibility of diſtinguiſhing readily, what party thoſe whom we might happen to meet, belonged to. A miſtake might coſt us our lives; but there being no remedy, we continued our journey, though with ſufficient uneaſineſs, thinking neceſſary not to alter our uſual anſwer. In effect, the firſt we met with was a company of light-armed horſe, commanded by Falandre. To the queſtion, which was, Qui vive, we replied, Vive le Roy; and Falandre examining us no farther, adviſed us to join him, leſt we ſhould meet the prince of Condé's little army, which he aſſured us was not far off; adding, if we doubted him, we might get further information from two or three companies of argoulets †, who were coming after. Theſe laſt words furniſhed us with a pretence for evading his perplexing civility: we feigned to have reaſons for not following the ſame route with him, and for waiting to take our meaſures from the anſwer we ſhould receive from the argoulets. In reality, we were no leſs apprehenſive of this other rencounter, but we prepared for it, relying ſtill upon the good

† So called from the bows with which they were at firſt armed. They ſerved on foot or on horſeback, as our dragoons do at preſent. When the arquebuſes were firſt in uſe, they were called horſe-arquebuſiers; and it is by this name they are generally called in theſe Memoirs.

fortune

fortune of eſcaping, by means of our diſguiſe. Accordingly, we did not fail to the queſtion, Qui vive, which was aſked us by the next company we met, to anſwer boldly, Vive le Roy, being perſuaded that we ſpoke to the argoulets of the royal army, whom Falandre had mentioned to us. This ſuppoſition, however, probably drew us into a very great danger; for theſe argoulets having perceived the prince of Condé's army at a diſtance, diſperſed, and threw themſelves into the woods. Inſtead of them, therefore, theſe whom we now encountered were four companies belonging to the prince; which we ſoon comprehended by the whole troops falling upon us, and aiming their pieces, crying out to us to ſurrender. At that moment, I plainly diſtinguiſhed three officers of my acquaintance, whom it would not have been difficult in any other ſituation to have made myſelf known to; but I reflected, that in ſuch ſort of encounters, the firſt word, the firſt motion, that tend to an explanation, are generally underſtood as a refuſal to ſurrender, and followed by a diſcharge of the piece cloſe to the breaſt. Inſtead, therefore, of naming myſelf, or thoſe officers, I behaved like a man who yields himſelf priſoner, and marched after the reſt; till coming near meſſieurs de Clermont* and St. Gelais, whom I ſurprized very much by embracing, they ordered my equipage to be reſtored to me, and likewiſe the portmanteaus which contained my money.

The prince of Condé came up ſoon after theſe four companies: he could ſcarcely believe what he ſaw, ſo bold did my enterprize appear to him. We lay all night in this place, after ſupping very temperately out of wooden diſhes; and when the time came which obliged us to ſeparate, the prince, who was ſo thinly accompanied, that far from being able to make head againſt a royal army, he was not in a condition to defend himſelf againſt a ſtrong detach-

* George de Clermont d'Amboiſe, marquis of Galerande.

ments

ment, and being likewiſe in a province where he was ſought for in all parts, would have had me to receive him into my company, in the quality of a private gentleman. He was ſo well known, that I could not yield to his requeſt, without ruining both him and myſelf. I intreated him, therefore, to diſpenſe with my complaiſance; and making the ſame excuſe to the duke de la Trémouille *, charged myſelf only with meſſieurs de Fors, du Pleſſis, de Verac, and d'Oradour. The prince of Condé remained behind, extremely perplexed; and finding it ſtill more dangerous to continue with his twelve hundred horſe, than to march with a ſmall retinue, he divided them into platoons, of which the moſt conſiderable conſiſted only of twenty horſe, making them take bye-ways, and marching himſelf through the roads, by a good fortune of which there are but few examples, twelve times eſcaped the purſuits of his enemies.

Nor indeed was I leſs fortunate myſelf. To the artifices I had already made uſe of, I added another, which ſucceeded wonderfully: I aſſumed the name of one of my brothers; and to make myſelf look more youthful, cut off my beard and muſtaches. This, however, did not diſguiſe me ſo well, but that through every place I paſſed, I could hear people about me ſay, that I perfectly reſembled my brother the huguenot. To avoid the queſtions that might be aſked me, I took the ſtile of a zealous partizan of the league, ſpread the report of the prince of Condé's defeat, and the rout of the proteſtant forces by the duke of Joyeuſe; by which means I arrived ſafe at Chateau-Renaud †. The great difficulty was how to paſs the Loire; yet this I accompliſhed, through the aſſiſtance of M. des Arpentis, who acted on this occaſion like a true friend. I received, likewiſe, ſome ſervices from M. de Montbazon. As ſoon as I arrived at Montbazon, he ſent me a preſent

* Claude, duke de la Trémouille. † In Touraine.

of

of wine and fruit, and treated me with ſo much kindneſs in ſeveral other inſtances, that although I was known in this place, I complied with his intreaties, and ſtaid there three days, which was no more than neceſſary, as our horſes began to be greatly fatigued. By the death of M. de Montbazon*, which happened ſoon after, I was deprived of an opportunity of ſhewing my gratitude to a man, who had the good of the ſtate ſo nearly at heart.

FAVOURED by my new diſguiſe, I traverſed Châtelleraud and Poitiers †. At Ville-fagnan, meeting with a regiment of Swiſs that was going to join the marechal de Matignon's army, I reſolved to draw ſome advantage from this rencounter. The Swiſs were not diſpleaſed with any thing I ſaid to them, becauſe I always took care to provide them each morning with a repaſt; and I believe I might have depended upon them, had I even diſcovered my true name. I travelled with them four days, and we did not ſeparate, while I could poſſibly avoid it. Scarce had I quitted them, when paſſing the river at St. Marſaud ‡, I was known by Puiferret, who advanced with his company to the bank of the river. Happily for me, I had already got to the other ſide; and having this advantage of him, I gained the houſe of M. de Neufvy ‖. At Marton § I went down, as uſual, into the ſuburbs, and immediately, through a ſtrange foreboding, returned into the city. I was informed the next day, that the door of the ſtable in which my horſes were ſuppoſed to be, had been burſt open in the night by a petard; but the reflections I made upon this accident, did not prevent me from giving orders for my departure: when I was accoſted by a ſtranger, who ſaid to me, "Monſieur, I do

* He was ſlain at the battle of Arques.

† Upon the confines of Poitou, and Saintonge.

‡ A village in Saintonge.

‖ The youngeſt ſon was called Bertrand de Melet de Fayoles of Neufvy; for Magdelaine de Melet de Fayoles, lord of Neufroy, his eldeſt, was in the party of the league. § In Angoumois.

not

"not desire to know who you are; but if you are "a huguenot, and leave this place, you will pe- "rish; five miles distance from hence there is an "ambush of fifty horse, well armed, which I be- "lieve is designed against you." I thanked this man for his kindness, without seeming discomposed by what he had told me, and coldly answered, that although I was not a huguenot, yet to fall into an ambush appeared to me to be always dangerous. I then returned to my inn, where pretending that one of my finest horses had hurt his foot, I ordered them to be all unsaddled.

That I might be assured whether what I had heard was true, I made one of my servants, named Perigordin, who could imitate perfectly well the gibberish of a peasant, disguise himself like one; and after instructing him in what he was to do, sent him to that part of the country, where I was told the ambush was posted.

Perigordin meeting these fifty horsemen, told them, in answer to the questions they asked him concerning the news of the city, that my departure was deferred till the next day. He followed them to a town, two leagues from thence, where they retired extremely mortified at having missed their blow, but resolved to return to the same place the next morning: and came back to me to make his report. I set out that moment, and after some other little adventures of the same kind, arrived at the house of M. de Longa, and went from thence to Bergerac, where the king of Navarre then was. This prince, on whom no instance of kindness was ever lost, held me a long time embraced in his arms; and appeared extremely sensible of the dangers to which, through my attachment to him, I had exposed myself. He would make me acquaint him with the least particulars relating to my journey, especially the rencounter I had with the prince of Condé, and the slippery condition in which I had left him.

'Tis

'Tis impoſſible to deſcribe the king of Navarre's perplexity at this time: without troops, money, or aid, he ſaw three powerful armies marching againſt him. Thoſe of the dukes of Maïenne and Joyeuſe were advancing by great journeys; and he had the marechal de Matignon's army actually in front. The forty thouſand francs I had brought with me, proved a very ſeaſonable ſupply to this prince, who could not have raiſed ſuch a ſum in his whole court. We marched towards Caſtillon and Montſégur*, which Matignon made ſhew of beſieging; but he falling ſuddenly upon Caſtets, we were obliged to turn to that ſide, and after a long and extreme cold march, for it was in the month of February, we arrived time enough to make them raiſe the ſiege.

But when we learnt that the duke of Maïenne's army was near, then it was, that not being able to think of any means by which we could reſiſt the efforts of two armies, whoſe numbers were ſo ſuperior to ours, we were thrown into the greateſt conſternation imaginable; we knew not which way to turn, nor what reſolution to take: one was of opinion, that the king of Navarre ſhould retire into the heart of Languedoc; another, that he ſhould go ſtill farther; and a third adviſed him to paſs over to England, from whence, after he had ſecured ſome powerful ſuccours, he ſhould go and put himſelf at the head of thoſe that Germany had given him hopes of. All agreed upon this one point, that the king ought to go farther from Guienne. It was with grief that I ſaw this advice, which would leave the proteſtant party in France without any reſource, likely to prevail.

The king of Navarre deſiring to know my opinion, I repreſented to him, that our affairs were not reduced to ſuch an extremity, as to oblige us to abandon them entirely: that it would be time enough to do that, after we had endeavoured once

* Cities of Gaſcony, in the biſhopric of Aire.

more

more to make head againſt them every where; which did not appear to be impoſſible, by leaving, for example, the viſcount de Turenne, with a ſmall body of troops, ſuch as could be got together, to act upon the defenſive in Guienne; and while the duke of Montmorency did the ſame in Languedoc, and Leſdiguieres in Dauphiny, the king ſhould reſerve the defence of Rochelle, and the neighbouring country, for himſelf, till the foreign troops, that were now very ſoon expected, arrived, which would bring the two powers nearer to an equality.

The king of Navarre approved of this advice, and declared he would follow it; "But, added he, "the duke of Maïenne is not ſo peeviſh a boy, but "that he will permit me to walk up and down a "little longer in Guienne." He then gave ſome orders before he ſet out for Rochelle, and took a journey to Bearn; which the preſent conjuncture rendered abſolutely neceſſary.

He ſtaid there but eight days, and during this interval, the two catholic armies having joined, and ſeized all the paſſages by which they thought the king of Navarre could return to Poitou, he ſaw himſelf upon the point of being ſhut up in Nerac. In this extremity the king reſolving to attempt all things, rather than not ſecure himſelf a paſſage*; he left Nerac, followed by two hundred horſe, and took the road towards Caſtel-geloux †. When he was got half way thither, he ſeparated his whole troop, and keeping only twenty of us that were beſt mounted, and a like number of his guards, appointed ‡ Sainte-foy for a place of rendezvous for all the reſt: then, turning ſhort, ſtruck into a road amidſt woods and heaths, with which he was well acquainted, having often hunted there, and arrived

* See this paſſage of the king of Navarre, and all the military expeditions on both ſides, in d'Aubigné, vol. III. Matthieu, vol. I. book xviii. Cayet, book i. and other hiſtorians.

† A city of the principality of Albret.

‡ A city of Guienne upon the Dordogne.

at

at ‖ Caumont, where he ſlept three hours. We paſſed the river after ſun-ſet, and marched all night through the enemy's quarters, and even over the moats of Marmande; after which, taking a bye-way near Sauvetat, we came two hours before day to Sainte-foy, where all the reſt of his men, who had divided into ſmall platoons, arrived alſo by different ways, without the leaſt loſs, not even of their baggage. The duke of Maïenne, exaſperated at this diſappointment of his hopes, went to diſcharge all his rage upon ‡ Montignac le Comte, where captain Roux, and ſerjeant More defended themſelves ſo courageouſly againſt his whole army, that he could not oblige them to ſurrender, but by granting them the moſt honourable conditions.

THIS general found leſs reſiſtance in § Sainte Bazeile. Deſpueilles, the governor of that ſmall place, was allied to the family of Courtenay, and had the reputation of a brave man: which inſpired me with an inclination to ſhut myſelf up with him, contrary to the advice of my relations and friends, who without doubt knew him much better than I did. The king of Navarre a long time denied me the permiſſion I aſked of him; at laſt, overcome by my importunity, he gave me thirty men, with whom I threw myſelf into Sainte Bazeile. I found the place in a very bad condition, without ramparts, and the houſes all built of clay, which the cannon went quite through. However, it might have held out ſome time, but Deſpueilles being ſeized with fear, rejected all my advice, and was mad enough to put himſelf into the enemies hands, who treated the city as they pleaſed. The king of Navarre, at the firſt confuſed reports he heard of this action, was angry with us all; but when he was informed of the truth, the whole weight of his diſpleaſure fell upon Deſ-

‖ Another city of Guienne.
‡ A city of Perigord upon the Vezere.
§ A city of Bazadois upon the Dordogne.

pueilles

pueilles, which was increaſed by this cowardly governor having the imprudence to tell him, when he preſented himſelf before him to excuſe his conduct, that if he had been there himſelf, he could not have acted otherwiſe. The king of Navarre put him under an arreſt, from which, eight days after, he was releaſed at our ſolicitations.

THE king did not quit the field till he was reduced to the laſt extremity, and after having diſputed the ground inch by inch. When he retreated, he threw the remains of his forces into § Monſégur, Caſtillon, and Sainte-foy. I lent him ſix thouſand livres more, to fortify Montflanquin, where ‡ Bethune commanded. At laſt, fearing ſome fatal accident on the ſide of Rochelle, he left ſome troops in Guienne, under the command of the viſcount de Turenne, and took the road to that city by Pons, and Sainte Jean d'Angeley †.

THERE were moments in which Henry III. enraged at the ſhameful part the league obliged him to act, wiſhed ardently to find ſome means of revenging himſelf ‖: but willing to do this without danger, rejected always the thought that often preſented itſelf to his mind, of calling in the king of Navarre, and uniting with him. The deputies from the four Swiſs catholic cantons coming to Paris, to treat of the ſuccours which ſome time before had been demanded of this republic; the king, who was then in one of his temporary firs of anger againſt the league, reſolved to make uſe of theſe Swiſs, which, with the troops that were at his own diſpoſal, and thoſe he might expect from the king of Navarre, would form a body of men capable of reducing the league to reaſon. He wrote to the king of Navarre, and acquainting him with his new deſigns, deſired him to

§ Upon the Dordogne. ‡ Floreſtan de Bethune.

† Cities of Saintonge.

‖ It was in theſe moments that he ſaid, as l'Etoile relates, *De inimicis meis vindicabo inimicos meo*; ſpeaking of the leaguers, and the huguenots.

ſend

ſend a perſon in whom he could confide, to confer with him upon this whole affair, and particularly upon the uſe they were to make of the Swiſs. A blank paſſport was added to this letter, which the king of Navarre filling up with my name, obliged me to depart immediately.

I ARRIVED at Saint Maur, where the court then was, and went down to the houſe of Villeroy, with whom I dined, and ſtaid the reſt of that day, and on the next he preſented me to the king. I ſhall never forget the fantaſtic and extravagant equipage and attitude in which I found this prince in his cabinet: he had a ſword at his ſide, a Spaniſh hood hung down upon his ſhoulders, a little cap, ſuch as collegians wear, upon his head, and a baſket full of little dogs hung to a ribband about his neck. He continued in a poſture ſo fixed, and ſo immoveable, that in ſpeaking to us, he neither moved his head, hands, or feet. He began by giving vent to his indignation againſt the league, which made me conclude he had received ſome new affront from it, and talked of his union with the king of Navarre, as a thing, the utility of which he was perfectly convinced of; but ſome remains of fear made him always add, that he looked upon it as impoſſible, while the king of Navarre perſiſted in his reſolutions of not changing his religion. I took the word, and told the king in anſwer, that it would be in vain to propoſe ſuch an expedient to the king of Navarre, who by agreeing to it muſt act againſt his conſcience; which, were he capable of doing, would not produce what his majeſty hoped from it; that the motive by which the league was actuated, was neither a regard to public good, or to religion; that ſo precipitate an action would deprive the king of Navarre of all the aſſiſtance he might expect from the proteſtants, without drawing one man from the league; but, on the contrary, ſuch a weakneſs would increaſe the pride of their common enemies. The king did

not

not fail to anſwer my reaſons; but I ſtill perſiſted in maintaining, that the king of Navarre, by complying with the terms propoſed to him, could bring only his ſingle perſon to his aid, whereas by uniting with him in the condition he was now in, without requiring the ſacrifice of his religion, he would ſtrengthen the king's party with a body very powerful in the ſtate. I had a conference, to the ſame effect, with the queen-mother: and I perceived that the force of my arguments made ſome impreſſion on them both, at firſt, and that it was the fear of that change which an union with a prince of the reformed religion might produce, which only prevented them from yielding. I did not, however, deſpair of prevailing upon them to ſtrike this great blow, and by the (not only gracious but) free and open manner, in which their majeſties treated me, I had reaſon to flatter myſelf I ſhould ſucceed.

I LEFT them in theſe favourable diſpoſitions to go to Paris, to confer with the Swiſs deputies, and brought them to my purpoſe with very little difficulty. It coſt me nothing but a ſmall expence in proviſions, eſpecially wine; for which they promiſed, without any limitation, a body of ten thouſand Swiſs; four thouſand of which were to ſtay in Dauphiny, and the other ſix thouſand to be employed in the ſervice, and at the diſcretion of the two kings. The king of France again aſſured me by Meſſ. de Lenoncourt, de Poigny, and Brulart, that his ſentiments were not altered, and that he paſſionately wiſhed for the union; which was not leſs earneſtly deſired by the king of Navarre: in the diſpatches I received from him almoſt every day, he exhorted me to uſe all my endeavours to ſecure its ſucceſs, and even to ſacrifice for that purpoſe ſome part of his intereſt.

AT my return to St. Maur, I gave the king an account of my journey, and aſked what uſe he would make of the ſix thouſand Swiſs, and to what place he deſigned they ſhould go. The king demanded, that

that they ſhould be brought into the neighbourhood of Paris; and even, if there was a neceſſity for it, ſerve him againſt the league. I foreſaw all the inconveniences that would attend a project of this kind, and did not yield to this article, but by the expreſs command of the king of Navarre, who thought ſo ſmall a matter ought not to retard their reconciliation. It will be ſoon ſeen whether this article was really of as little importance as was imagined, and what was the conſequence of this imprudent compliance.

THE treaty between the two kings being concluded upon the conditions that have been mentioned, I reſolved to depart from court, leaving only Marſilliere at Paris, under colour of continuing the negotiation that had been begun: but he had only attended me to Paris, to take the firſt favourable opportunity of going to Germany, to facilitate, by the aſſiſtance of meſſieurs de § Clairvant, and de Guitry, the departure of a body of German troops from thence, which the proteſtants of thoſe countries had promiſed the king of Navarre. This deſign Marſilliere executed very happily. As for me, I ſtaid but eight days at Roſny with my wife; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who was extremely well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of my commiſſion.

THIS prince could not reſolve to lie idle in Rochelle, and therefore prevailed with the inhabitants to furniſh him with twelve hundred foot, two hundred horſe, and three cannons; theſe he gave to the duke de la Tremouille for the reduction of Talmont †, which he could not endure to ſee in the enemies hands. I followed the duke de la Tremouille, with Mignonville, Fouquerolles, Bois-du-Lys, and ſome other officers.

THE town having no fortifications, we ſeized it without oppoſition, and began immediately to attack

§ Claude Antony de Vienne, lord of Clairvant.
† A city of Lower Poitou.

the caſtle; the walls of which were very ſtrong, but had no works on the outſide. Maroniere, who was governor of it, although he did not expect to be attacked, depended upon ſome ſpeedy ſupplies that ‖ Malicorne had engaged to bring him: which determined us to preſs the place vigorouſly. The paſſage by ſea from Talmont to Rochelle is but ſix hours; I embarked for that place to fetch a ſupply of powder, with which we were not ſufficiently provided, and to inform the king of Navarre, that we ſhould find it very difficult to ſucceed with ſo ſmall a number of men. The king ſoon raiſed two thouſand more in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, and ſhipped them on board of three veſſels, which during three days were in danger of periſhing. At length we arrived at Talmont; the three veſſels caſt anchor there one after another, and the beſieged learning that the king of Navarre conducted the attack in perſon, ſurrendered the place to him.

It was want of money that had prevented Malicorne from bringing ſupplies to the governor of Talmont; the king of Navarre, therefore, being freed from this fear, drew off his troops, in order to attack * Chizai. Fayolle, who commanded there, defended himſelf bravely. He made good uſe of a culverine, which was the only piece of artillery he had in the place; nor yielded till the laſt extremity. I took notice of a ſingular accident that happened there: the princeſs Catherine having ſent the ſteward of her houſhold with a letter to the king her brother, a bullet of this culverine went quite through the body of his horſe, and came out at his breaſt, yet the beaſt continued ſtanding near ten minutes after.

Another ſhot from an arquebuſe was the cauſe of a much greater misfortune: a gentleman charged with a verbal meſſage to the king of Navarre, concerning ſome important affairs, was ſhot dead at the

‖ John de Sourches, lord of Malicorne.
* In Upper Poitou, upon the Boutonne.

feet

ſeet of this prince, having only had time to ſay that he came from Heidelberg, from meſſieurs de Clairvant and de Guitry. This officer was ſent to inform the king, that the German horſe, and other proteſtant troops from Germany, were ready to enter France; and to know of him through what place he thought it moſt proper they ſhould march. Some were for their entering France by Lorrain, where the league was very powerful; others maintained, that they ought to take their route by the Bourbonnois, from thence by Berry and Poitou, and the ſide of the Loire. Meſſieurs de Montmorency and de Châtillon were for keeping them in Languedoc and near the Rhone. Never was ſo great a diverſity of opinions known, and unhappily the worſt prevailed, which was to bring them in through Beauce; doubtleſs, becauſe the king of France was willing to have them near him, that he might make uſe of them againſt the league, or at leaſt to keep it in awe. It is not probable that the king of Navarre would have conſented to this, but the accident that has been related was the cauſe that he was even ignorant of their contentions.

THIS prince, by a continuance of the ſame good fortune, took Sanzay, and afterwards St. Maixant †; the noiſe of five or ſix cannons, which till that time were ſeldom made uſe of in ſieges, produced this effect. He took advantage of his ſucceſs, and ſeeing himſelf reinforced with two hundred horſe, and five hundred foot, which were brought him by the prince of Condé, and the count de la Rochefoucault ‡, whom he had juſt made colonel-general of his infantyr, he believed himſelf ſtrong enough to undertake the ſiege of Fontenay, the ſecond place for ſtrength in Poitou; although he was not ignorant,

† Other cities of Upper Poitou.

‡ Francis de la Rochefoucault, prince of Marſillac, ſon of him who was ſlain at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. He was killed in 1591.

that in this place there was a brave governor, and a ſtrong garriſon. The governor, whoſe name was la Rouſſiere, reſolved to defend not only the city, but the ſuburb des Loges alſo, which was larger and more magnificent than the city itſelf, and ſurrounded with a great moat; to which were added ſtrong barricadoes, that cloſed up the entrance of this ſuburb. The king of Navarre ſent la Rochefoucault, at the head of forty gentlemen, to attack the upper end of this ſuburb in a very dark night. I joined meſſieurs de § Dangeau, de Vaubrot, d'Avantigny, de Challandeau, de Feuquieres, de Braſſeuſſes, le Chene, and two or three others. We poſted ourſelves at one ſide of the barricadoes, with our pikes in our hands, and our piſtols at our girdles, with a deſign either to throw them down, or leap over them. We were repulſed three times. Vaubrot, Avantigny, and I, in falling, drew five or ſix hogſheads of dung upon us, from which we were apprehenſive we ſhould not ſoon diſengage ourſelves; but our party having at that inſtant forced the works, we got up by means of this effort, and the enemies ſeeing us maſters of the barricade, thought of nothing but retreating, after having firſt ſet fire to it, to protract our purſuit, leſt by following them too cloſe, we ſhould in their confuſion enter the city along with them.

We now took up our lodgings in the fineſt houſes in the ſuburb, where we found all things in great abundance. The only inconvenience we ſuffered, was from the ſmall ſhot of the place, which made the entrance to the king's and our own houſes very dangerous; and the batteries upon the ramparts commanding all the avenues of this ſuburb, it was impoſſible to enter it without being expoſed to continual diſcharges. One day, when I came out of my own houſe to go to the king's, which was the moſt beautiful in the ſuburb, a ball, as I was paſſing

§ Lewis de Courcillon de Dangeau.

through

through the ſtreet, cruſhed my head-piece, juſt as Liberge, my valet de chambre, came up to tie it." I cauſed a rope to be faſtened acroſs the ſtreet, and by means of ſome cloaths that were hung over it, prevented the beſieged from ſeeing at leaſt thoſe that paſſed.

We afterwards applied ourſelves without ceaſing to the trenches and undermining. The king of Navarre took inconceivable pains in this ſiege: he conducted the miners himſelf, after he had taken all the neceſſary precautions to hinder ſupplies from entering without: the bridges, avenues, and all the roads that led to the city, were ſtrictly guarded, as likewiſe great part of the country. One night, when I was upon guard with twenty horſe, at the ford of a river, I heard the noiſe of trampling of horſes at a diſtance, which made me conclude I ſhould be attacked. This noiſe ceaſed for ſome minutes, then began again with more violence; and came ſo near, that I prepared for defence. I ſuffered the troop to approach within arms length; but when we were juſt ready to fire, I perceived the occaſion of our alarm to be a number of horſes and mares, which had been wandering about this field, and came to water at the river. I was one of the firſt to laugh at this adventure; but in ſecret I was not ſory that I had given orders to the perſon whom I pitched upon to go for aſſiſtance, not to ſet out till we were engaged in fight.

At this ſiege, my principal employment was the conduct of the artillery. The mining was ſo far advanced, that we could hear the voice of the ſoldiers who guarded the parapets, within the lodgment of the miners. The king of Navarre was the firſt who perceived this; he ſpoke, and made himſelf known to the beſieged; who were ſo aſtoniſhed at hearing him name himſelf from the bottom of theſe ſubterraneous places, that they demanded leave to capitulate. The propoſals were all made by this uncom-

uncommon way: the articles were drawn up, or rather dictated, by the king of Navarre, whoſe word was known by the beſieged to be ſo inviolable, that they did not require a writing. They had no cauſe to repent of this confidence; the king of Navarre, charmed with a proceeding ſo noble, granted the garriſon military honours, and preſerved the city from pillage.

A WOMAN of the city having killed a fat hog the ſame day that they had capitulated, hearing that the garriſon had ſurrendered, deviſed a pleaſant ſtratagem, to deprive the rapacious ſoldiers of their prey. She made her huſband hide himſelf, and wrapping the dead animal in a ſheet, laid it, by the help of ſome friends, in a coffin, and by her cries drew all her neighbours about her. The mournful preparations for a funeral gave them to underſtand the cauſe of her lamentations; the prieſts were deceived as well as others. One of them conducted the funeral proceſſion a-croſs the ſuburbs, into a church-yard without the city, by the king of Navarre's permiſſion. The ceremonies over, and the night being come, ſome perſons poſted by this woman near the grave, came to take up the dead animal, and carry it into the city; but they were perceived by ſome ſoldiers, who driving them from thence, diſcovered the truth, and ſeized the prey. One may eaſily imagine the ſecret was not well kept; it was known all over the city: a prieſt, to whom this woman, preſt with remorſe of conſcience, had revealed it, publiſhed the adventure every where.

THE king of Navarre leaving the lord of ‖ La-Boulaye governor in this place; went to take the abbey of Maillezais, the ſituation of which he found ſo advantageous, that he reſolved to make it a regular fortreſs, and ordered me to draw a plan of it. Davailles, a relation of La-Boulaye, was appointed to

‖ Charles Echalard, lord of La-Boulaye.

guard

guard it. His troops took Mauleon likewiſe, and afterwards the caſtle of La-Garnache §; from whence monſieur de Genevois * drove his own mother. She retired to Beauvois, a little city upon the ſea-ſide, whither her ſon ſtill purſued her, but falling this time into her hands, ſhe in her turn made him priſoner of war.

I was not preſent at either of theſe ſieges; the melancholy news I received from Roſny obliged me to go thither. During my ſtay at St. Maur, I obtained a protection for my caſtle and eſtate of Roſny, together with neceſſary paſſports for going thither when I pleaſed. It was this liberty that made me eaſy with regard to my wife, at a time when all ſorts of outrages againſt the proteſtants were allowed. I learnt that this town was at that time almoſt wholly depopulated by the plague: my wife had loſt the greateſt part of her domeſtics, and fear having obliged her to fly into the neighbouring foreſts, ſhe had paſſed two days and nights in her coach, and had afterwards taken refuge in the caſtle of Huet, belonging to madame de Compagnac, my aunt. Her joy, when ſhe knew I was ſo near her, gave way to her fears of the danger I incurred by coming amongſt perſons infected with the plague; and thinking to force me to return, ſhe ordered the gates to be ſhut upon me. She had too much occaſion for aſſiſtance and conſolation to be abandoned in that condition; I entered, notwithſtanding her reſiſtance, and ſtaid a month in this houſe, having only two gentlemen,

§ Other ſtrong places in the Lower Poitou.

* D'Aubigné explains this better, vol. III. b. i. c. x. "The Lady "of La-Garnache, ſays he, ſiſter to the duke of Rohan, held the "city of La-Garnache, and the caſtle of Beauvois upon the ſea in "neutrality. Her ſon, called prince of Genevois, by his mother's "marriage with the duke of Nemours, ſeized La-Garnache, by "means of a correſpondence he held with the domeſtics. He made "the ſame attempt upon Beauvois, but he was taken priſoner by his "mother. The reſult of all which was, that the king of Navarre "intereſting himſelf in procuring his liberty, obtained it, and by the "ſame means the place."

and as many domeſtics, with me: breathing the air of the country in freedom, for the report of the plague kept all troubleſome viſitors from my houſe. I was not wholly uſeleſs to the king of Navarre all this time; my wood-merchant ſtill owed me twenty-four thouſand livres, and I preſt for the payment of it. The perſecution that was declared againſt the proteſtants, put me entirely in their power; and the fear leſt this money, together with all my eſtates ſhould be confiſcated for the uſe of the league, obliged me to be contented with ten thouſand livres.

As ſoon as the contagion ceaſed, I carried my wife back to Roſny, after having taken the neceſſary precautions to purify the houſe; and left her at the report, that the duke of Joyeuſe, whoſe march had hitherto been ſlow, and his operations very inconſiderable, was advancing haſtily, to drive the king of Navarre from Poitou. This prince had juſt then been repulſed before Niort and Parthenai; and finding it impoſſible to keep all his fortreſſes againſt forces ſo ſuperior to his, he cauſed the greateſt part of them to be razed and diſmantled, and preſerved only Fontenai, Talmont, Maillezais, and St. Maixant ‖. He afterwards retreated to Rochelle, where I found him.

THE treaty of alliance between the two kings, which was mentioned above, ſeeming to promiſe a more favourable event, the reader is, no doubt, impatient to know the ſucceſs. All was already over; in one moment the whole deſign was overthrown. This proceeding of the court was certainly very uncommon, and will appear a myſtery abſolutely incomprehenſible to thoſe who know not what changes a prince who delivers himſelf up to irreſolution, idleneſs, and timidity, is capable of aſſuming in affairs of ſtate: nothing is more dangerous than a mind

‖ All theſe places are in Poitou.

thus

thus fluctuating and undetermined. In difficult situations, all things ought to be trusted to chance, nor ought it to be wholly neglected; but after having fixed on a particular design, every step that leads to it, ought to be regulated by wise and cool reflections. A necessary peace cannot be too earnestly desired, nor concluded too soon; but in critical circumstances nothing ought to be more carefully avoided, than keeping the people's mind in suspence, between peace and war. It was not by maxims like these that Catherine's counsellors conducted themselves; if they formed any resolution, it lasted but a moment, never held out to the end; and so timorously was it made, that it afforded even but a very imperfect remedy for the present evil. The fault of minds taken up in little trifling intrigues, and in general, of all those that have more vivacity than judgment, is to represent to themselves things that are near, in such a manner, as to be dazzled by them; and see those at a distance through a cloud: a few moments or days make up their futurity.

To this fault of never being able to resolve upon any thing, the king, or rather the queen-mother, added another still greater *. This was the use of I know not what kind of little affected dissimulation, or to say better, a wretched study of hypocrisy and deceit, without which she imagined her politics could not subsist: the first of these errors concealed from us the misfortune with which we were threatened, and the last tied the hands of those who might have assisted us to prevent it. What could we expect but to be ruined by it sooner or later? Thus it happened to Henry III. through his want of resolution to make use of the remedy that was offered him, by joining his troops with those of the king of Na-

* It has been asserted, that the interest of the true religion had no part in the politics of this queen. Witness these words which she was heard to say, when she thought the battle of Dreux was lost, "Well! we must pray to God then in French."

varre; by which means he might cruſh the enemies of his authority: he neglected to proſecute this deſign, and the conſequence was, that he ſaw himſelf reduced to an extremity which might have been as fatal to the royal name as ſhameful to the memory of this prince.

CATHERINE had recourſe to her uſual artifices, and thought ſhe performed a great deal, becauſe ſhe endured the fatigue of a long journey; ſhe went into Poitou, and had ſeveral conferences with the king of Navarre † at Coignac, Saint Brix, and Saint Maixant. Sometimes ſhe endeavoured to allure him, at other times to intimidate him with the ſight of the conſiderable forces that were going to pour upon him, and whoſe efforts, ſhe told him, ſhe had hitherto ſuſpended. In a word, ſhe forgot nothing which ſhe thought might induce him to change his religion. This, however, is certain, that it was not without regret ſhe ſaw the league in a condition to oppreſs the king of Navarre, becauſe it was not her intereſt that his ruin ſhould be accompliſhed by that means. But what ſecurity did ſhe give this prince, by the raſh and unſeaſonble meaſures ſhe wanted to engage him in? Had he not reaſon to believe, that the propoſal ſhe was conſtantly making him to change his religion, was, at the bottom, but an artful ſnare to deprive him of all aſſiſtance from the proteſtants, to make him countermand the troops that he expected from Germany, to draw him

† The queen aſking him what he would have? he replied, looking at the young ladies ſhe had brought with her, "There is nothing "here, madam, that I would have." Perefixe's hiſtory of Henry the Great. Matthieu adds, that Catherine preſſing him to make ſome overture, "Madam, ſaid he, there is no overture here for "me." Vol. I. book viii. p. 518. This interview was at St. Croix the 25th of September. "He was hunting one day at Saint "Brix, and wanting to ſhew that his horſe was more lively than two "very fine ones belonging to Belliévre, a herd of pigs behind a hedge "frighted his horſe, who threw him upon the earth, where he lay "ſenſeleſs, bleeding at the noſe and mouth. They carried him like "one dead to the caſtle. However, two or three days after he diſ-"appeared." Mem. of Nevers, Vol. II. p. 588.

to

to court, to ruin him, and, after him, all his adherents? I had particular proofs that juſtified theſe apprehenſions; for thoſe conferences at which I was preſent with the king, not affording me the means of clearing my doubts, I held private ones, by his orders, with the ladies d'Uzes, and de Sauves, who were better acquainted with Catherine's inclinations than any other perſons, and by whom I was loved with ſo much tenderneſs, that they always called me their ſon. In order to come to the knowledge of their real ſentiments, I pretended to be well convinced of what indeed I only ſuſpected, and complained that the queen-mother made uſe of all her endeavours to ſacrifice the king of Navarre to the league. Theſe two ladies confeſſed to me in confidence, that they believed religion ſerved Catherine only for a pretence, and that affairs were in ſuch a ſtate, that the king of Navarre could no otherwiſe extricate himſelf from his difficulties, but by the force of his arms. They proteſted to me afterwards, that they ſaw with grief the bad diſpoſitions of the council towards this prince. Theſe words I have always believed to be ſincere, although ſpoke in a court where, next to gallantry, nothing was ſo much cultivated as falſhood.

WHATEVER were the queen-mother's * intentions, ſhe returned without obtaining any thing; and Joyeuſe with an army took her place. The conduct of an army entruſted to Joyeuſe was a ſecond myſtery: Was it to mortify the heads of the league, who had better pretenſions to this command than him, or to ruin them entirely, if the new general had ſucceeded? Was it, on the contrary, the diſco-

* "After a long converſation, the queen-mother aſking him if "the trouble ſhe had been at was to produce no other fruit, ſhe who "loved nothing ſo much as peace; he anſwered, Madam, I am not "the cauſe of it; it is not I that hinders you from ſleeping in your "bed, it is you that prevents me from reſting in mine; the trouble "you give yourſelf pleaſes, and nouriſhes you; peace is the greateſt "enemy of your life." Perefixe, part i.

very of his connections with the league, that induced the king to give him a poſt, wherein he was aſſured this ungrateful man would periſh, or at leaſt miſcarry? Or was it only to remove a favourite from his preſence, who had now a rival in his affections; for it is often a mere triſle, that produces effects which are always attributed to the moſt ſolid cauſes: but was it not rather to enhance the luſtre of his favour by an employment ſo diſtinguiſhed? Such was the ſpirit of the court, that conjectures, the moſt oppoſite, were ſupported by equal probabilities. What ſeems, however, to determine in favour of the laſt ſuppoſition, is, that the army which Joyeuſe commanded was compoſed of the beſt forces in the kingdom, was filled with the flower of the nobility, and plentifully provided with whatever could contribute towards rendering it victorious.

The king of Navarre employed himſelf chiefly in putting Saint Maixant in a condition of defence; he went thither with ſo much haſte and precipitation, that ſinking under his watching and fatigue, he was obliged, in his return to Rochelle, to throw himſelf into a waggon drawn by oxen, where he ſlept as in a bed. To prevent the proviſion with which he had ſtored Saint Maixant from being conſumed, he ordered the two regiments of ‖ Charbonnieres, and des Bories, which had been appointed to defend it, to be poſted at La Motte Sainte-Eloi, and there to expect the enemy's arrival. All theſe precautions could not prevent the reduction of this laſt place, and its caſtle, nor that of St. Maixant, Maillezais, and many others, any more than the defeat of ſeveral companies, amongſt others that belonged to Deſpuelles, which was beat almoſt within ſight of Rochelle. The cruel behaviour of the conquerors made theſe misfortunes ſtill more affecting; all we could do in revenge, was to fall upon the wag-

‖ Gabriel Prevot of Charbonnieres.

gons

goons and the ſtragglers, during the marches of this army.

One day, as the duke of Joyeuſe led his army back again from Saintes to Niort, I poſted myſelf with fifty horſe in the foreſt of Benon, near the great road, to wait for an opportunity of ſtriking ſome blow. A ſoldier whom I had directed to climb up a tree, to obſerve the order and motion of the enemy's army, told us, that he ſaw a detachment advancing ſome paces before the firſt battalions. Thoſe who accompanied me were for falling upon this detachment, which they ſuppoſed it would not be difficult to ſubdue, before any aſſiſtance could come up to it. I did not reliſh this propoſal. I remembered a maxim of the king of Navarre's, that to attack a party when the whole army was near, ſeldom ſucceeded; and I reſtrained the ardour of my troop, who burnt with an eager deſire to come to blows with them. We ſaw this detachment paſs by, and afterwards the whole army, the battalions of which we could eaſily count. The laſt ranks marched ſo cloſe, that I was of opinion there was nothing to be done; but as we were ready to make our retreat, the centinel informed us, that he ſaw two ſmall ſquadrons of fifty or ſixty horſe each, that marched at a great diſtance from each other. I would have ſuffered the firſt to paſs by, but it was impoſſible now to reſtrain the impetuoſity of the ſoldiers; we fell upon the firſt with ſuch fury, that we left twelve or fifteen dead upon the place, took as many priſoners, and the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight. But how greatly was I mortified that I had not followed my own opinion, when I found the ſecond troop was compoſed of fifty of the principal officers of the catholic army, with the duke of Joyeuſe himſelf at their head, he having ſtopped at ‖ Surgeres, to refreſh himſelf with a collation there.

‖ A town in the county of Aunis.

When

When I gave the king of Navarre an account of this action, he told me ſmiling, that he perceived I was willing to ſpare the duke's ſquadron, on account of my two brothers who were with him. One of them having an inclination to ſee Rochelle, I obtained a paſſport for him, and conducted him every where. I went to Niort ſoon after, where the enemy's army lay, to agree upon terms of a combat that had been propoſed between the Albanois of captain Mercure's company, and a like number of Scots under the command of Ouïmes; but the duke of Joyeuſe would not permit it to be executed.

I FOUND this general gloomy and diſcontented, and gueſſed ſo truly the cauſe of his uneaſineſs, that when he told me he ſhould ſoon ſet out for § Montreſor, I replied without heſitation, that he could go very eaſily from thence to the court. At theſe words he turned towards my brother, as accuſing him of having revealed what had paſſed. Though he knew that there was nothing in it, he imagined his diſgrace was certain, ſince the report of it had already reached Rochelle; and it was this, I believe, that confirmed him in his reſolution to go and deſtroy, by his preſence, the cabals of his enemies. However, he concealed his ſentiments, and coldly anſwered, that I ſuffered myſelf to be deceived by my too great diſcernment; and endeavoured to perſuade me, that he had no intentions of returning to Paris: but I was ſo well aſſured of the contrary, that I went back immediately to the king of Navarre, to concert with him proper meaſures for drawing ſome advantage from an abſence which would leave the catholic army without leaders; for I did not doubt but many of the general officers would take this journey likewiſe: in effect, Joyeuſe was no ſooner ſet out, than his whole army, already badly diſciplined, lived without order and obedience.

§ In Touraine.

THE

THE king of Navarre, who had ſecretly aſſembled twelve hundred men, which he had drawn out of his garriſons, fell ſo ſeaſonably upon the companies of Vic, of Bellemaniere, the marquis of Reſnel, Ronſey, and Pienne, and even upon that of the duke of Joyeuſe, that finding part of them in bed, and part at the table, he cut them all in pieces. He oftener than once alarmed the whole army, which was now under the command of Lavardin. He followed it to la Haye in Touraine, and found means to keep it, as it were, beſieged during four or five days. If on this occaſion he had had forces ſufficient to have enabled him to keep his poſt longer, it is my opinion, that hunger would have delivered the whole army into his power, the ſoldiers ſpreading themſelves over the villages, and neglecting their ſafety to get proviſions. We paſſed the river, and ſurprized them every moment.

DURING this ſhort ſpace of time, we killed and took above ſix hundred men. With ſix horſe only, I went into a village full of ſoldiers; they were ſo accuſtomed to be beaten, that I ordered the arms of thoſe who were at the tables, and upon the beds, to be ſeized, and their matches to be put out, without their offering to repulſe us, although they were forty in number. I brought them to the king of Navarre, and they enliſted in his troops.

THE count of Soiſſons*, who was diſcontented with the court, had long given the king of Navarre hopes, that he would come over to his party, and this prince neglected nothing that could keep him in this favourable diſpoſition. The negligence of the catholic army afforded them both the opportunity they waited for. The count of Soiſſons took the road towards the Loire, and the king of Navarre ſent

* Charles of Bourbon, fourth ſon of Lewis I. prince of Condé, who was ſlain at Jarnac, and brother to Henry I. prince of Condé, of Francis, prince of Conti, and the young cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, but by another mother, Frances d'Orleans de Longueville.

all

all his troops to Rofiers to facilitate this prince's paſſage over the river. They ſerved him likewiſe to ſeize the baggage of the duke de Mercœur; the great convoy that eſcorted it, was attacked ſo ſuddenly near a bank, that they ſurrendered without ſtriking a blow, and the baggage, which was extremely rich, was entirely pillaged. My part of the booty amounted to two thouſand crowns. My brothers were no longer in this army; I had obtained a paſſport for them to leave la Haye.

THIS ſervice was repaid by another of the ſame kind; they procured me a paſſport for Paris, whither a preſſing occaſion called me. At this time the perſecution againſt the proteſtants was at its height. On which ſide ſoever they turned, inevitable ruin awaited them: in the villages, where every one became a ſoldier, in order to pillage, their houſes could not ſecure them from the fury of their perſecutors; and in Paris, and other great cities, they were expoſed to rigorous ſearches, which the zeal of religion inſpired, and the deſire of being enriched by their ſpoils made but too ſeverely executed. Princes will often ſee themſelves ſubjected to misfortunes like theſe, while they know not how far their rights* and duties with regard to religion extend. They cannot puniſh with too much ſeverity, a crime by which nature, ſociety, or the laws, are wounded.

* 'Tis true, it never has been demonſtrated, that religion obliges ſovereigns to perſecute thoſe who make profeſſion of another faith, but this does not hinder the maxims which the duke of Sully eſtabliſhes here from being very dangerous, in that they ſeem to diſcharge kings from that indiſpenſible obligation they are under to preſerve the true religion; an obligation which includes that of making the worſhip, and all the exterior practices of it, to be exactly obſerved; which is equally conformable to the principles of a wiſe policy, as to thoſe of religion; a fatal experience having but too well ſhewn, that it is much more neceſſary to prevent all diſputes upon matters of religion, than to ſilence them when they are begun. After the confeſſion Monſieur de Sully has often made in his Memoirs of that ſpirit of revolt, and independence, which conducted all the ſteps of the calviniſt party in France, it is ſtrange he is not ſenſible that, according to his own maxims, this body deſerved to ſuffer all the rigour of

A religion that is capable of authorizing ſuch actions, becomes neceſſarily the object of all the rigour of their juſtice; and then only is religion ſubjected to the power of crowned heads; but their juriſdiction does not extend over conſciences, in that precept that regards our love of God, the different comments of which form the difference of religions. The ſovereign Lord of all reſerves to himſelf whatever relates to ſpeculation, and leaves to princes all that tends to deſtroy the common practice of it. Ignorance, or contempt of this maxim, was the cauſe of great miſery to the proteſtants: thoſe whoſe eſtates were large enough to admit of their living in Paris, choſe that as the leaſt dangerous way, becauſe of the eaſe with which they could keep themſelves unknown in a city ſo full of tumult and confuſion.

My wife had retired thither ſome time, having uſed the precaution to take a borrowed name; to her was added, beſides the common misfortunes, that of being far advanced in her pregnancy, during which ſhe wanted all kinds of conveniencies. When I ſuppoſed ſhe drew near her time, the apprehenſions of what might happen to her in this condition, made me reſolve to take a journey to Paris. I found her juſt delivered of a ſon, to whom I gave for godfather the lord of Rueres, then a priſoner in the jail of the parliament, and the child was carried from the baptiſmal font to church, by a citizen named Chaufaille and his wife; for the proteſtants did not ceaſe to meet in churches, and hold aſſemblies, notwithſtanding the ſevere informations that were made againſt them. At this very time, ſeveral women were burnt upon that occaſion; the dangers I ran myſelf were extremely great, and I avoided them only by not

of the law. This place, in my opinion, ſufficiently juſtifies what I have ſaid in the preface to this work, that it is more proper to refute all the author's ſentiments in theology, than to ſuppreſs them. It is not poſſible to underſtand his meaning here upon the ſubject of charity. Obſcurity is generally a proof of falſe principles, and weak reaſoning.

being

being known, which was indeed an amazing inſtance of good fortune.

At laſt the number of ſpies increaſing in all parts of the city, the ſearch was ſo diligent that nothing could eſcape. I did not think it poſſible to ſtay any longer in Paris, without expoſing myſelf to evident danger. I left it therefore alone, and in diſguiſe, and fled to Villepreux; and from thence I took a bye-road to Roſny.

The duke of Joyeuſe had been received in Paris with praiſes and acclamations, which ought to have made him bluſh in ſecret for not having deſerved them. They did not, however, hinder him from being ſenſibly affected with the defeat of his army, of which he was ſoon informed. He endeavoured by all poſſible means to make ſatisfaction for this loſs, which in the diſpoſition the king was in with regard to him, was not a difficult taſk. His arrival had diſconcerted all the ſecret practices of his enemies, and his favour † with Henry was riſen to ſuch a height, that he could refuſe him nothing. All the courtiers attached themſelves to him, and he ſet out again for Guienne with the flower of the French nobility, while ſeveral other bodies of troops, taking ſeparate ways, aſſembled at the rendezvous he had appointed for them.

These different marches of the troops made the roads ſo dangerous, that I found no other means of returning to Rochelle, but by altering the date of my paſſport, which was expired. By this little fraud I got ſafe to the king of Navarre, whom I found employed in taking meaſures to prevent the dreadful ſtorm he ſaw ready to burſt upon him. He drew together all the ſoldiers he could find in Poitou,

" † In his embaſſy to Rome, he was treated as the king's bro-
" ther: he had a heart worthy of his great fortune. One day hav-
" ing made the two ſecretaries of ſtate wait too long in the king's
" anti-chamber, he excuſed himſelf by reſigning up to them a hun-
" dred thouſand crowns which the king had juſt given him." Notes upon the Henriade.

Anjou,

Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, and ſent orders to the prince of Condé, the count of Soiſſons, meſſieurs de Turenne, de la Trémouille, and Rochefoucault, to join him with all the forces they had: yet, with all theſe ſupplies, his troops were greatly inferior to thoſe of the duke of Joyeuſe. They only ſerved to put him in a conditlon of opening a way through Guienne, Languedoc, and the Lyonnois, towards the ſource of the Loire, where he depended upon meeting the German auxiliaries. He made uſe of all his endeavours to accompliſh this junction, before the troops of Joyeuſe were all joined. This prince, therefore, advanced with his army towards Montlieu, Montguyon, and la Roche-Chalais ‡, but always cloſely followed and watched by the enemy's general, who having penetrated into his deſign, thought he ought not to wait for the arrival of the marechal de Matignon, nor of ſeveral other regiments that were coming to join him, leſt he ſhould loſe an opportunity, which he might never be able to recover. His forces were already ſo much ſuperior to the king of Navarre's, that this reſolution could not be accuſed of raſhneſs and temerity; and the king, who never hazarded a dangerous action, but when obliged to it by neceſſity, inſtead of ſeeking the battle, thought of nothing but how to get the river between them, that he might purſue his march without oppoſition, and gain the Dordogne, upon which he had ſeveral ſtrong forts which might ſtop the enemy's purſuit.

WITH theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides, the king of Navarre arrived at the paſs of Chalais and Aubeterre. It was of great importance to him to gain Coutras §, a poſt that might favour this paſſage, and no leſs to Joyeuſe to hinder it. He ſent Lavardin to poſſeſs

‡ Cities upon the borders of Saintonge, of Guienne, and Perigord, as were Chalais, and Aubeterre.

§ Coutras, a city of Guienne, upon the borders alſo of Perigord, at the confluence of the rivers of Lille and Droume.

himſelf,

himſelf of it; but la Trémouille, being more diligent, prevented him, and maintained himſelf in it, after a very ſharp ſkirmiſh. The king of Navarre reſolved to take advantage of this poſt to attempt the paſs, and marched thither in the night, reſerving to himſelf the care of conducting the troops over, and left that of the baggage, particularly the artillery, to Clermont, Bois-du-Lys, Mignonville, and me. As it was neceſſary to make uſe of all poſſible diſpatch, we ſet ourſelves to work immediately, having the water up to our knees. One half was already got to the other ſide of the river, when the ſcouts, whom the king of Navarre had ſent during the night to make diſcoveries, returned with ſome priſoners they had taken, and informed us, that Joyeuſe, having reſolved to force the king of Navarre to a battle, had marched all night, and would be up with him at furtheſt by ſeven or eight o'clock in the morning. This intelligence convinced the king, that our labour was not only uſeleſs, but extremely dangerous, becauſe if found by the enemy employed in paſſing the river, that part of his troops which ſhould remain on this ſide of it muſt be inevitably defeated, as it could receive no aſſiſtance from the troops on the other. Thoſe who had already got over, were ordered to return immediately. Our labour was now redoubled, and to add to it, we loſt Mignonville ‖, for whom the king had occaſion. Although we were extremely weakened by the fatigue we had ſuffered, yet that did not hinder the king from pointing out to us an eminence, upon which he expreſſed a wiſh that his artillery could have been placed, but durſt not hope that we ſhould have time to gain it. In effect, we already diſcovered the enemy's van.

‖ Mignonville, who was ſlain ſoon after before Monsneour, when Henry IV. ſtormed that city. He was marechal de camp, and an excellent officer. Henry had a great number of ſubaltern officers of uncommon merit and abilities in his army; ſuch were Montgomery, Bellegarde, Montreſor, Vitaſſé, des Agoux, Favas, whom the hiſtorians, in relating this battle, have mentioned with honour.

Luckily

Luckily Joyeuſe, who without doubt was not ſufficiently acquainted with the ground, or ſuffered himſelf to be too far tranſported by his ardour, had given orders for fixing his artillery in a place ſo low, that afterwards finding it would be uſeleſs, he cauſed it to be removed, and by that means gave us leiſure to place our own. It muſt be confeſſed, that this general, by ſome means or other, drew but little advantage from his artillery, and that this was one of the chief cauſes of his loſing the battle. This ſhews, that there is nothing more neceſſary for the general of an army than an exact and piercing ſight, which ſhortens diſtances, and prevents confuſion. I never knew a general that poſſeſſed this quality in an equal degree with the king of Navarre*.

THE § battle was already began, before our artillery, which conſiſted only of three pieces of canpon, was fixed, and we had ſoon occaſion for it. The troops in monſieur de Turenne's quarter behaved very ill; that of la Trémouille was forced the firſt ſhock, which was beginning to throw the whole army into diſorder. The catholics cried out victory; and indeed they wanted but little of being victorious; but at the ſame moment our artillery began to play, and ſo terrible † was the fire, that

* Le Grain makes him pronounce this military harangue to his ſoldiers, "My friends, behold here a prey much more conſiderable "than any of your former hoſties; it is a bridegroom, who has ſtill "the nuptial portion in his pocket, and all the chief courtiers with "him." Dec. of Henry the Great, book iv.

§ It began the 20th of October, at nine o'clock in the morning, and was ended at ten. The victory was complete, five thouſand of the enemy were left dead upon the place, and five hundred taken priſoners. In the king of Navarre's army, there were but very few ſoldiers ſlain, and not one priſoner of diſtinction. De Thou, book lxxvii. Mem. of du Pleſſis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 533. Father Daniel, in his hiſtory of France, vol. IX. 4to, gives an exact deſcription of the battle of Coutras. I could have wiſhed to have tranſcribed the whole article here.

† The firſt fire of the artillery, ſays le Grain, carried off ſeven "captains of the regiment of Picardy, the beſt and moſt warlike in "the duke's army." Book iv.

every

every diſcharge carried away twelve, fifteen, and ſometimes five and twenty men. It put a ſtop immediately to the impetuoſity of the enemies, and reduced them to ſuch an extremity, that ſeeking to avoid the fire, they diſperſed, and offered only a diſorderly and ill-ſuſtained body to the efforts of the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the count of Soiſſons, who ſcoured the field at the head of three ſquadrons. Theſe three princes ‡ performed prodigies of valour in this battle; they overthrew all that oppoſed them, and ſtriding over the bodies of the dead to meet new dangers, their arms were all batter'd with blows. The face of things was changed in an inſtant, and the death of the catholic general ‖ gave the proteſtants a complete victory.

As ſoon as I beheld the enemy fly, I abandoned the cannon, which were now uſeleſs, and mounting a horſe which Bois-breuil kept ready for me behind the artillery, I flew to learn tidings of my brothers, and I had the conſolation to hear, that neither of them had been in the battle. I met the king of Navarre buſy in diſperſing * the fugitives, and compleating his victory, which he did, not thinking himſelf ſecure while there remained any to oppoſe him. The bodies of Joyeuſe and St.

‡ All I ſhall ſay to you," ſaid the king of Navarre to them "is, that you are of the houſe of Bourbon, and, pleaſe God, I will "ſhew you, that I am your eldeſt brother."

His valour was that day far ſuperior to all the others. He wore a plume of white feathers on his helmet, to make himſelf remarkable. Some of his friends throwing themſelves before him, to defend and cover his perſon, he cried, "Give me room, I beſeech you; you "ſtifle me; I would be ſeen." He forced the firſt ranks of the enemy, took ſeveral priſoners with his own hand, and collared an officer named Château Regnard, cornet of a company of foot, ſaying, Yield thee, Philiſtine. Pereſixe, ibid.

‖ Slain in cold blood, by la Mothe St. Henry; others ſay, by two captains of foot, named Bordeaux, and Deſcentiers.

* Some perſons ſeeing the fugitives halt, came and told him, that the marechal de Matignon's army was in ſight: he received thoſe tidings as new ſubject of glory, and turning courageouſly to his men, Let us go, my friends, ſaid he: two battles in one day, is what has never before been ſeen. Pereſixe, ibid.

Sauveur

Sauveur his brother †, were drawn from beneath a heap of carcaſes, and laid upon a table in the hall of the caſtle of Coutras, and a coarſe ſheet thrown over them ‡.

* *

BOOK III.

THAT the proteſtant party might have derived great advantages from the victory of Coutras, and that they did not, is equally true. I am ſincere enough to confeſs, that the king of Navarre did not, upon this occaſion, do all he might with a victorious army, and maſter of the field: if he had advanced to meet the foreign auxiliaries, nothing could have prevented their junction; and, after a ſtroke ſo important, his party would have at leaſt been equal to the catholics. 'Tis certain, that the true value of a moment is never known, the wiſeſt are deceived §.

† Claude de Joyeuſe, the youngeſt of ſeven ſons of William duke of Joyeuſe.

‡ The following is an anecdote, the truth of which I cannot anſwer for. However, the reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee it here; I met with it in the Memoirs of Amelot de la Houſſaye, vol. II. p. 443. who relates it as drawn from the hiſtory of the lords of Enghien, by Colins. This author ſpeaks thus, "The king of "Navarre gained the victory, to the great ſatisfaction of the king "of France, who ſecretly correſponded with the victorious army, "through the faithful interpoſition of the marquis of Roſny, of the "houſe of Bethune, now duke of Sully, who remained unknown "at Paris." This author ſeems to have been acquainted with the duke of Sully's ſecret negotiations with Henry III. already mentioned; but he is miſtaken in this, that theſe negotiations produced no effect, ſince the duke of Joyeuſe was ſtill highly favoured by this prince, at leaſt if we may believe monſieur de Sully, who ought to know better than any other; And that Sully could not be at Paris, becauſe he was at the battle; and that even the laſt journey he took there, ſome time before, had no other motive than the deſire of ſeeing and aſſiſting his wife.

§ Our beſt hiſtorians agree in theſe two things, that the king of Navarre knew not how to take the advantage of his victory, and that he did not do all he might have done. D'Aubigné is almoſt the only

The ambitious deſigns, and ſelf-intereſted views of the ſeveral leaders in the victorious army, ſnatched from the king of Navarre the fruits of his victory; but this is a truth few people are acquainted with.

The prince of Condé being ſeduced by the advice of Trémouille, thought the time was now come, when he would execute the bold ſcheme he had long before meditated, which was to diſmember the crown of France of Anjou, Poitou, the countries of Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, to compoſe of them an independent ſovereignty. With this view, he haſtily withdrew his troops he had brought to the general army, and turned all his thoughts to the reduction of Saintes and Brouage, which he flattered himſelf he ſhould be maſter of at the firſt alarm; and that afterwards, nothing would be able to oppoſe him. So true it is, that ambition reſembles that bird in the fable, who has a ſtrong wing, and an inſatiable hunger †.

only perſon who exculpates this prince's officers, and lays the blame wholly upon him. Vol. III. b. i. c. xv.

† The duke of Sully does not agree here with d'Aubigné, du Pleſſis Mornay, and the author of the life of the duke of Bouillon; it is probable he had better memoirs than them all, with regard to the deſigns he attributes to the prince and the duke on this occaſion; but I am afraid, there was ſome prejudice and paſſion on his ſide. In my opinion, monſieur de Thou is better able than any other perſon to decide this queſtion: ſpeaking of the conſequences of the battle of Coutras, he ſays, that a council being aſſembled to deliberate upon what meaſures were neceſſary to be taken, the prince of Condé propoſed, that they ſhould go to meet the foreign troops along the ſide of the Loire, and ſecure them a paſſage over this river, by ſeizing Saumur; that this advice was not followed, for reaſons which he relates, and which are very bad; and it was agreed only, that the prince of Condé ſhould go, with what troops they could ſpare him, to join the German army towards the ſource of the Loire, taking his way through the heart of Angoumois and Limoſin. That the king of Navarre, on his ſide, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by the greateſt part of the nobility of Poitou and Saintonge, marched towards St. Foi in Agenois, from whence he took the route to Pau, leaving the conduct of his little army to the viſcount de Turenne; who not willing to let the ſoldiers be idle, beſieged Sarlat in Perigord, deſigning at leaſt to lay it under contribution, if he could not take it. This is what de Thou ſays, to which may be added, a very important circumſtance, and at the ſame time a very true one, ſince neither the duke of

THE viſcount Turenne having the ſame deſigns upon the Limoſin, and Perigord, where he already poſſeſſed great eſtates, purſued the ſame conduct with the prince of Condé; and obliging all his troops (which alone compoſed one third of the army) to follow him, led them to the ſiege of Sarlat, ſoothing them with hopes that this expedition would enrich even the meaneſt ſoldier. He fully juſtified the proverb, that great promiſers perform the leaſt: the check he received before this little paltry town, ought to have convinced him in time of the vanity of his pretenſions. The viſcount had no one to accuſe but himſelf for this misfortune; as for the king of Navarre, he had acted quite contrary to his advice.

The count of Soiſſons concealed his deſigns with more art; however, it is certain, that his new attachment to the king of Navarre was not ſincere, and that it was intereſt alone which induced him to it. He had gained the heart of the princeſs Cathe-

of Bouillon, nor his apologiſts, could contradict it: which is, that it was the viſcount himſelf who rejected the prince of Condé's prudent advice. From all this it follows, that the prince of Condé was not guilty of what he is here accuſed of, which is further confirmed by d'Aubigné, who adds, that it was upon a promiſe the king of Navarre made him to join him ſoon, that he advanced to Angoumois, where he waited a long time to no purpoſe. The prince, however, is not cleared of having had likewiſe views of independence, of which no hiſtorian doubts.

Although the viſcount Turenne appears to have acted upon this occaſion in conſequence of the reſolution of a general council; yet, in my opinion, we are not the leſs authorized to think diſadvantageouſly of him. It is bad reaſoning in Marſolier to grant on one ſide, that he was inſtigated by his ambition to wicked deſigns, and on the other ſide to complain, that thoſe deſigns are ſuppoſed the motives of his conduct. This is to deſtroy the idea he would give us of the duke of Bouillon, as of the greateſt politician of his time. Theſe raſh judgments are condemned by religion, but are allowed by the laws of hiſtory; and political conjectures are often reduced to this foundation alone.

As for what has been ſaid in the ſame place againſt the count of Soiſſons, it is, and will be ſtill more ſupported hereafter by unanſwerable proofs. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Memoirs du Pleſſis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. chap. xv. Marſolier's Hiſtory of Henry duke of Bouillon, vol. I. book iii.

rine, the king's ſiſter, and he was continually expreſſing to this prince, the earneſt deſire he had of uniting himſelf more cloſely to him by marriage; but this deſign concealed another too ſhameful for him to ſuffer to appear. His pretenſions by this marriage were, to ſubſtitute himſelf in the place of the king of Navarre; and as he ſaw no probability that this prince, having the pope, Spain, and the French catholics for his enemies, ſhould ever accompliſh his deſigns, he depended upon enriching himſelf with his ſpoils, and upon gaining, at leaſt, the great eſtates which make up the apenage of the houſe of Albret on this ſide the Loire. Such being his intentions, he took care neither to aſſiſt him with his advice, or his arm, to puſh his laſt victory further; on the contrary, he ſeized that moment to preſs him ſo earneſtly to allow him to go to Bearn to viſit the princeſs his ſiſter, that the king, ſeeing himſelf in a more deſtitute condition than if he had loſt the battle, thought he was obliged, in gratitude for the aſſiſtance the count had given him, to grant him this ſatisfaction. He himſelf was alſo dragged thither (and the count was not ignorant of it) by a paſſion which had always been the weakneſs of this prince. Love called him back to the counteſs of Guiche, to lay at her feet the colours he had taken from the enemy, which he had cauſed to be ſet apart for that purpoſe.

ACCORDINGLY they took the road together to Bearn. Happily this unſeaſonable journey did not produce all the diſadvantages that might have been reaſonably expected from it: it was ſo far of uſe to the king of Navarre, as to give him a more perfect knowledge of the perſon on whom he was going to beſtow his ſiſter. The count of Soiſſons could not ſo well diſſemble his ſentiments, but that the king gueſſed at ſome part of them; and a letter, which he received from Paris, fully revealed them. By this letter he was informed, that the count of Soiſ-

ſons

ſons had taken this ſtep purely at the inſtigation of the eccleſiaſtics, who had fallen upon this ſtratagem to deprive him of all his poſſeſſions: that the count had ſolemnly ſworn to them, as ſoon as he had married the princeſs, he would bring her with him to Paris, and abandon for ever the party of his benefactor, and afterwards concert meaſures with them to finiſh the reſt. The king of Navarre received this letter at his return from hunting, when he was juſt ready to fall into the ſnare that was laid for him; and it gave him an averſion to the count, which nothing was ever able to remove. He broke with him, and regretted too late, that he had abandoned himſelf to his advice.

I HAD not the mortification of being a witneſs to all theſe reſolutions which were taken after the battle of Coutras, and which I ſhould in vain have oppoſed. Some days before theſe extravagant and ſenſeleſs ſchemes had poſſeſſed the minds of the principal officers in our army, the king of Navarre took me aſide, in a garden, and aſked my opinion concerning the condition into which this laſt action had put his affairs. I told him, that I thought it neceſſary he ſhould march immediately with all his force towards the ſource of the Loire, to receive the foreign ſupplies, or, what would anſwer the ſame end, to facilitate their paſſage, by taking poſſeſſion of all the towns on this ſide of the river; and which, except Poitiers and Angoulême, which he might leave, ſeemed not difficult to be won. By this means he would at leaſt ſecure to himſelf the fineſt and beſt provinces, from whence he could not be driven in a ſhort time, nor by very inconſiderable forces.

THE king of Navarre approved of this advice, and appeared reſolved to follow it exactly. He told me, that he had juſt ſent ‖ Montglat to the foreign army, and that ſince he could not go to put himſelf at the head of it, he ardently wiſhed the prince of

‖ Lewis de Harlai, lord of Montglat.

Conti § would accept of that charge; having received letters from this prince, in which he offered to aſſiſt him in perſon: and he added that, under pretence of going to the royal army, the prince of Conti might join the auxiliaries without danger. The king then left to me the care of prevailing upon the prince to take this ſtep, and recommended to me to uſe all my endeavours to ſecure the ſucceſs of it.

I SET out from the army, charged only with a letter of three lines, and ſending my equipage to Pons, paſſed through Maine; where I expected to have found the prince, by means of the acquaintance I had with the governors of thoſe places through which he muſt paſs. I learnt, at my arrival, that the prince of Conti ſet out by himſelf two days before; and had not ſo well concealed his march, but that his intelligence with the foreigners was ſuſpected, which was the cauſe that the roads were filled with the detachments which were ſent after him; and therefore I was obliged to take a circuit, in order to join him, and to paſs by Roſny; from whence coming to Neaufle, I was there informed of what had happened. The Germans entering without order, and without guides, into provinces unknown, ſtopped by large rivers, harraſſed continually by the troops of the league, had at length been totally defeated at Auneau *: that the Swiſs,

§ Francis de Bourbon, prince of Conti, ſecond ſon to Lewis I. prince of Condé, and Eleanora de Roye. He died in 1614, leaving no children by his two marriages.

* See a detail of this in de Thou, book lxxxvii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 537. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. p. 39, and particularly the Memoirs of the league, vol. I. where it is obſerved, that at the time this army was encamped near the river Yonne, Montglat came from the king of Navarre, to deſire the commanders of it would march towards the ſource of the Loire, where he would put himſelf at their head; but they did not think proper to do ſo. The leaders were, the baron d'Onau, or Dona, Chantry, Clervant, Beauvois la Nocle, &c. If they had obeyed this order, the king of Navarre, then returning from Bearn, would have had time to join them with all his troops, and the army would not

to avoid the like misfortune, had enliſted, to the number of twelve thouſand, in the troops of the league: that the king of Navarre was at Bearn, his forces unemployed, and diſperſed on all ſides.

THIS mournful news ſtopped my journey, and rendered my commiſſion uſeleſs. Nothing now remained for me to do, but to turn back to Roſny; where, while I ſecretly deplored the fatal conſequences of our bad conduct, I feigned, for my ſecurity, to take part in the public rejoicings, for the defeat at Auneau. I viſited my eſtates in Normandy; and while I was expecting thoſe remedies, which time, and the king of Navarre's return might bring to our calamities, I learnt that this prince had left Bearn, and I went to join him at Bergerac, where the news of the taking of Caſtillon conſoled him a little, amidſt ſo many cauſes for affliction. The ſiege of this place had coſt the duke of Maïenne a million of crowns, and the viſcount Turenne retook it for leſs than two ‖.

A LITTLE time afterwards, we were informed of two accidents that were likely enough to change the face of affairs; one was the death of the prince of Condé §, a death as ſudden as tragical: the impriſonment of ſome of his chief attendants, and the

not have been defeated. Davila, in his eighth book, relates the duke of Guiſe's reply to the duke of Maïenne, who was ſenſible of the danger of attacking an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number: "Thoſe, "ſaid he, that do not care to fight, may ſtay here. What I cannot "reſolve upon in half an hour, I never reſolve on my whole life"

‖ By means of a ladder of cords.

§ Notwithſtanding the ſecret jealouſy that ſubſiſted between the prince of Condé and the king of Navarre, yet the king was extremely afflicted for his loſs, and ſhutting himſelf up in his cabinet with the count of Soiſſons, he was heard to ſend forth great cries, and to ſay, "That he had loſt his right hand." Pereſixe, Hiſtory of Henry the great, part I. This prince was called Henry, and was ſon to Lewis of Bourbon, firſt prince of Condé. He had no children by his firſt wife; after whom he married Charlotte Catherine de la Trémouille, whom at his death he left three months gone with child. It is a great error which was ſpread among the people, that Henry of Condé, the twelfth of that name, was born thirteen months after the death of his father. He was born the 1ſt of September following.

puniſhment of one of his domeſtics *, who was torn to pieces by four horſes, left no room to doubt that he died by poiſon. The news of the populace riſing †,

* The name of this domeſtic was Brillant. One of his pages was executed in effigy. The princeſs herſelf was comprehended in this accuſation. René Cumont, the lieutenant-particulier of St. Jean, commenced a proceſs againſt her, which was ſuſpended on account of the birth of Henry II. prince of Condé. After ſix years impriſonment, the princeſs preſented a petition to the parliament of Paris, who brought this affair before their tribunal, and acquitted Charlotte Catherine de la Trémouille of the crime of which ſhe was accuſed. The prince of Condé died at St. John d'Angely, March the 5th, 1588, aged thirty-five years. De Thou, book xc. Moriſot, I know not upon what authority, ſays, that the death of the prince of Condé might be occaſioned by a wound he received in his ſide, by a lance, at the battle of Coutras. Henry Magn. cap. xii. p. 27.

† I ſhall not give a detail of it here, as it would be too long, and may beſides be found in a great many other books. It is ſufficient to ſay, that Henry III. to prevent the dangerous deſigns of the league, having ordered about ſix thouſand troops, the moſt part Swiſs, to enter Paris, and ſpreading them in different quarters of the city, the people roſe, and being kept together by ſome of the chiefs of the league, fortified themſelves in the ſtreets, repulſed the ſoldiers, diſarmed the Swiſs, defeated the king's guards, and carried the barricades within fifty paces of the Louvre, &c. Henry III. feeling himſelf ready to be beſieged in the Louvre, and not willing to expoſe himſelf to the violence of an enraged populace, went out privately by the Tuilleries, and the ſuburb Mantmantre, from whence he got to Chartres. The affair was afterwards turned into a negotiation between the queen-mother and the duke of Guiſe, and the abſolute deciſion of it remitted to the ſtates of Blois.

I obſerve, after d'Aubigne, that it was very fortunate for Henry III. that his troops ſeized and kept poſſeſſion of the ſuburb St. Honore, and the back of the Tuilleries; and that no one of the league thought of ſeizing theſe quarters. Thoſe who guarded the gate of Neſſe fired at a diſtance upon the king's troop, and ſeeing the ferry-boat of the Tuilleries approach, in which they ſuppoſed the king to be, cut the cable. Chronol. Noven. tom. I.

Henry III. was on his ſide guilty of a much greater fault, in forbidding Grillon, colonel of the French guards, to take poſſeſſion of the ſquare Maubert, and the quarter of the univerſity, and by hindering his ſoldiers from firing upon the populace; who, by a ſtep more firm and ſeaſonable, might have been retained in their duty. The duke of Guiſe waited ſix whole days at Soiſſons, not daring to come to Paris, contrary to the king's orders, which were ſignified to him by Bellièvre, in two letters that he ſent him at different times by the poſt. They were to blame, as Matthieu the hiſtorian alſo obſerves, vol. I. book viii. for not ſending theſe letters by an expreſs to the duke of Guiſe; for the duke imagined, that he might elude this order, by denying he had received the letters, as in effect he did at the queen's palace,

at Paris *, and barricading the ſtreets, and of the king's departure from that city, followed ſoon after,

lace, in the preſence of the king and Bellièvre, to whom he proteſted, with deep oaths, that they were never delivered to him. This fault was not committed through negligence, but becauſe they had not five and twenty crowns to ſpare to pay the courier for his journey.

Henry III. was adviſed by the duke of Epernon, to ſuffer his guards to aſſaſſinate the duke of Guiſe as he came to the Louvre; and this prince, they ſay, would have engaged la Gueſle and Villequier in the deſign, but they diſſuaded him from it. It is reported alſo, that the ſame day, wherein the ſtreets were barricaded, Alphonſo d'Ornano, aſſured him, he would bring him the head of the duke of Guiſe, if he would permit him. In a word, it is thought, that the king did not make uſe of half the precautions he might have done, informed as he was of all the deſigns of the league, having himſelf narrowly miſſed being taken as he was going to Vincennes: and had juſt been convinced by what had happened at the impriſonment of la Morliere, a famous leaguer, that the people only waited for an opportunity of inſulting him. The king's council acted without compariſon better in that affair of la Morliere, than on the day of the barricades. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Satyr. Menip.

The duke's deſign in this enterprize has given riſe to great diſputes, which I cannot here enter into a detail of; in this, as in all other dubious matters, much has been ſaid pro and con. Thoſe who will have it, that he intended to carry, or ſuffer the people to carry things to an extremity, to ſeize the king's perſon, in a word, to put the crown upon his own head, ſupport their aſſertions by ſome writings of great conſequence, to which I am obliged to refer the reader. See the firſt vol. of the Memoirs of the league, and the vol. marked 8866, in the king's library: the chief of which are, A letter written to him by the ducheſs of Lorrain, after the victory of Auneau, in which ſhe adviſes him to make uſe of the preſent opportunity to declare himſelf king, &c. A letter written by the duke himſelf the next day after the fortifications in the ſtreets of Paris, to the governor of Orleans, wherein are theſe words, "I have vanquiſhed the Swiſs, cut in pieces part of "the king's guards, and hold the Louvre ſo cloſely inveſted, that I "ſhall be able to give a good account of thoſe that are within. This "victory is ſo great, that it will never be forgot," &c. Many other letters, in which he mentions the king very diſreſpectfully, and the princes of the blood with the utmoſt contempt; to this they add, the diſcontent the duke diſcovered, and the reproaches he made the queen-mother, for having amuſed him with conferences, while his prey eſcaped him. In fine, the writings that were, ſay they, publiſhed by his commands; wherein was attempted to be proved, the pretended right the houſe of Lorrain had to the crown, not to mention an infinite number of other pieces, which were indeed but ſo many ſatirical libels againſt Francis duke of Guiſe, reproaching him with having attempted to aſſert his chimerical claims upon Anjou and Provence; and the cardinal his brother, with endeavouring to make himſelf ſovereign of Metz, under the protection of the emperor, a project which

* Thurſday May 12.

and was ſpread every where by the courier, who was ſent with an account of it to the duke of Epernon.

the vigilance of Salcede prevented the execution of; but he loſt his head for it: and for having treated about religion with the king of Spain, at the council of Trent, without his maſter's participation. The greateſt part of theſe writings are ſtill in every body's hands.

For the duke's juſtification they bring thoſe arguments made uſe of by himſelf in a letter, or a ſort of manifeſto, which he drew up the ſame day, being the 13th of May. He there declares, that the report of the king's intention to fill the city with foreigners, and to fall upon the citizens with them, was the true cauſe of the populace r ſing; that, inſtead of ſupporting them, he had made uſe of his utmoſt endeavours, till two hours after mid ight, to calm the tumult; that he had preſerved the Swiſs, and prevented the maſſacre; that he had intreated the rebels to reſpect the royal authority; and that, far from attempting any thing againſt the king's perſon, "I might, ſaid he, "have ſtopped him a thouſand times, if I had been inclined to do ſo," &c. Add to this, that in treating with the queen-mother, he required nothing but the deſtruction of the proteſtants, and that religion ſhould be ſecured; and declared likewiſe, that it was not in his own name he treated, but in that of the cardinal of Bourbon, whoſe intereſts he ſupported againſt thoſe of the king of Navarre, and the other princes of the blood.

I do not find it ſufficiently proved againſt the duke of Guiſe, that his deſign was to place himſelf upon the throne, after the death of Henry III. and the cardinal of Bourbon; and this is very extraordinary. What ambitious man, and in his place, could have reſiſted the ſuggeſtions of the pope, the king of Spain, and a great part of Europe, who all conſpired for his elevation? See the duke of Parma's opinion of this event, Davila, book ix. "The duke of Guiſe made ſhew of "doing too much, and in reality did too little: he ought to have re- "membered, that whoever draws his ſword againſt his prince, ought "to have that inſtant thrown away the ſcabbard." Sixtus V. when he received the news, cried out, "Oh that preſumptuous duke, and that weak "king." "The earl of Stafford, ambaſſador from England, (I relate this anecdote in the words of le Grain, book iv.) "being adviſed to take a "ſafe-conduct from the duke of Guiſe, I will have no other ſecurity, "ſaid he, than the law of nations, and the protection of the king to "whom I am ſent, whoſe ſervants and ſubjects you and the duke of "Guiſe both are." The firſt preſident de Harlay anſwered the duke of Guiſe with the ſame firmneſs, That in the king's abſence, he would take his orders from the queen-mother.

There is one piece upon the different conduct of the league and council, before and after the mutiny in Paris, that deſerves to be read, and is entitled, The Verbal Proceſs of Nicolas Poulain, the mayor of Paris, upon the league, from 1585 to 1588. This Nicolas Poulain, who ſecretly favoured the king's party, often gave good advice in this affair, which was never followed. This piece of ſecret hiſtory is to be found in the firſt vol. of the Journal of Henry III's reign, p. 132, and following.

To

To this abject condition a king ſaw himſelf reduced, who neither knew how to prevent, to ſtifle, or to divide factions, who amuſed himſelf with conjecturing, when he ought to have acted, who exerted neither prudence nor fortitude, nor was even acquainted with the characters of thoſe whom he commanded, nor thoſe that were neareſt his perſon. The revolutions which happen in great ſtates, are not produced by chance, or the caprice of the people; 'tis a weak and diſorderly government that cauſes rebellions, for the populace never riſe through a deſire of attacking, but an impatience of ſuffering.

THE juſt reſentment that filled the heart of the king of Navarre, for an inſult ſo cruel, offered to one of his own blood, and which, in ſome degree, reflected a diſgrace upon all crowned heads, effaced in a moment the remembrance of Henry III's injurious treatment of himſelf. He declared his affliction at it in his council, who all with one voice approved of his reſolution to aſſiſt and defend the king of France; and he ſent his ſecretary immediately to this prince, to aſſure him, that he might diſpoſe of his perſon and troops.

THE count of Soiſſons, whoſe mind was ingroſſed by perpetual chimeras looked upon this event as a ſtroke of fortune, which by ridding him of all his rivals, would give him the chief ſway in the council, and court of Henry III. Changing therefore his battery in an inſtant, he reſolved to go and offer his ſervice to this prince; and to give himſelf more conſequence with him, he ſought dependents in the court of the king of Navarre, and from amongſt his moſt affectionate ſervants, whoſe fidelity he did not ſcruple upon this occaſion to tempt. The king of Navarre, though he was pretty ſenſible of all the baſeneſs of this conduct, diſſembled his ſentiments of it; and reflecting that it would be of uſe to him to have ſome perſon with the count of Soiſſons, in whom he could confide, to watch all his motions, and ſtudy

the new ſyſtem he purſued at court; he commanded me to give ear to this prince's diſcourſe, and to affect a zeal for him that I was very far from feeling. The count of Soiſſons ſuffered himſelf to be eaſily deceived; he congratulated himſelf for having gained me, and treated me with a diſtinction that did not fail to raiſe me ſome enemies, who envied me the ſhare I poſſeſſed of his favour. I accompanied him in his journey, after having received inſtructions from the king of Navarre, and concerted with him thoſe meaſures which his ſervice required me to take upon this occaſion.

During our whole journey, the count continually entertained me with the favour, the magnificence, and the honours that waited him at court. The king of Navarre, he thought, would not even attempt to rival him: amidſt all the ſtrokes of vanity, and inſupportable pride which eſcaped him, there mingled, without his perceiving it, a kind of bitterneſs againſt the king of Navarre, that ſufficiently diſcovered the hatred and antipathy he bore him. I could neither ſubmit to flatter his inclinations, nor to approve of his ridiculous ſchemes; and all my anſwer was, that I foreſaw the diſunion of the royal family, which had already been the cauſe of ſo many misfortunes, would bring France at laſt under the power of the houſe of Auſtria, after it had made them deſtroy each other. A diſcourſe more ſoothing would have been more to his taſte; but mine, however, ſeemed to bear the marks of a ſincere attachment to him, which could not fail of pleaſing.

We arrived at Nogent le-Rotrou, and afterwards at Mante, where the king of France was. We found him in that reſtleſs and unquiet diſpoſition of mind, which a violent reſentment occaſions, and filled with confuſion for the affront he had ſo lately ſuffered. Notwithſtanding all this, he was ſo incapable of taking the advantage of the change in his affairs *, that

* It is believed, that if Henry III. had acted with more prudence and

even at that very time he made the duke of Epernon admiral, and ſoon after gave him the government of Normandy, vacant by the death of the marechal Joyeuſe. The count of Soiſſons was received in a manner ſo different from what he expected, that there needed no more to convince him of the folly of his great projects. The king, addreſſing himſelf to me, aſked me if I had quitted the king of Navarre's party; I evaded this perplexing queſtion, by telling him, that in coming to offer my ſervice to his majeſty, I did not think myſelf ſeparated from the king of Navarre, becauſe I was aſſured, that that prince, whoſe intereſts were the ſame with his, would in a little time do the like. I found this anſwer did not diſpleaſe the king; but being ſurrounded, and carefully obſerved by perſons, on whoſe countenances it was eaſy to read the uneaſineſs which my diſcourſe gave them, he concealed his ſentiments. The weakneſs of this prince was indeed incomprehenſible: his real enemies could not be unknown to him, after the audacious manner in which they had ſo lately taken off the maſque; but ſtill feigning ignorance, he again delivered himſelf up to the queen-mother *,

and ſteadineſs, he would have been ſtill able to retrieve his affairs. It is certain, that the Pariſians, in great conſternation at his leaving Paris, ſent deputies to him at Chartres, to intreat him with every kind of ſubmiſſion to return to that city; and to render this deputation more affecting, they made the capuchins walk in proceſſion, and enter the cathedral with the inſtruments of the paſſion, crying Miſericordia. The king received them with that air of majeſty and authority neceſſary upon this occaſion. He ſhewed great favour to the deputies from the parliament, which had not been any ways concerned in the affair of the barricades; the others he threatened with a reſolution never again to enter Paris, and to deprive it of its charters, and ſovereign courts; at which they were ſo greatly alarmed, that the duke of Guiſe was obliged to exert all his art and credit to pacify them.

* In the circular letter that Henry III. ſent into the provinces, after the action of the barricades, and which began thus, "Dear "and well beloved, you have, as we ſuppoſe, heard the reaſons that "induced us to leave our city of Paris, the 13th of this month, &c." this prince ſpeaks more like a ſupplicant than a king; he defends his deſign of introducing a foreign garriſon in Paris, and doubts of the fidelity of the Pariſians. He gives a falſe and bad colour to his flight, and declares that he is ready to begin the war againſt the

and through her to his perſecutors, with whom ſhe reconciled him. Perhaps, however, this laſt ſtep was in this prince but a ſtroke of the moſt profound diſſimulation; for the bold † action he commit ed againſt the ſtates of Blois, gives us room to believe,

huguenots, at the head of the league. MS. of the royal library, number 8866, 8891.

The author means the conferences which the queen-mother held, by this prince's command, with the cardinal of Bourbon and the duke of Guiſe; to which were alſo admitted, as I find in vol. 8906, of the manuſcripts in the royal library, the lords de Lanſac, Lenoncourt, Des-Chateillers, and Miron, firſt phyſician to his majeſty, who had been employed in carrying meſſages between the two parties on the day of the barricades. Theſe conferences were held at Chalons, at Sarry, a houſe belonging to the biſhop of Chalons, at Nemours, &c. The league made moſt extravagant demands there, ſuch as the entire abolition of the pretended reformed religion, the diſmiſſion of all the calviniſt officers, even if they abjured; the publication of the council of Trent, the inquiſition, &c. and at laſt obtained all they demanded by the edict of July 21, which was given in conſequence of thoſe conferences. Memoirs of the League, vol. I. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. Chron. Noven. vol. I. and others.

† The death of the two brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guiſe, whom this prince cauſed to be murdered in his own apartments, by his guards, the 23d of December, at Blois, where he held the ſtates. See this murder in the ſame hiſtorians, with a relation of the proceedings and intrigues of both parties in the ſtates of Blois. The cardinal of Bourbon was kept priſoner, the other brothers of the duke of Guiſe fled.

The duke of Guiſe periſhed as the admiral Coligny did; preſumption hindered them both from ſeeing the danger with which they were threatened. The duke heeded none of the warnings that were given him; it is ſaid, that the marchioneſs of Noirmoûtier, the ſame lady who made ſo much noiſe under the name of madam de Sauves, came on purpoſe to paſs the night with him; and neither by arguments or intreaties, could hinder him from going the next day to the council.

Some perſons took upon them to juſtify Henry III. for this action, among others the cardinal de Joyeuſe, in a long memorial upon this ſubject, which he ſent from Rome, where he then was. Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175. But the moſt judicious of our hiſtorians, and even thoſe who have carried the privilege of the royal authority furtheſt, all deteſt it. "The ſhocking circumſtances of "the murder of the Guiſes," ſays Perefixe, "appeared horrible, "even in the eyes of the huguenots, who ſaid, that it too much "reſembled the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew." On the other ſide, it cannot be denied, that Henry III. had no other way of preſerving the crown in his own houſe, and perhaps on his own head; for there is

that his revenge was never one moment out of his thoughts: and if one might form any judgment of this aſſembly, in all appearance, every individual that compoſed it, had each a ſecret object in view, to which all their deſigns tended, and which ſucceſs diſcovered in ſome, and diſappointment concealed in others.

not the leaſt probability in what Villeroy aſſerts in his Memoirs, vol. I. p. 25. that the king, without taking that courſe, might have made himſelf maſter of the deliberations of the ſtates of Blois, and have obliged them to comply with his will.

In this alternative one cannot help lamenting the conſequences of bad conduct in a prince, which reduces him to ſuch a ſad neceſſity. He was himſelf a fatal example of this truth, that he who ſtrikes with a knife, ſhall periſh by a knife.

The duke of Guiſe was almoſt adored by the catholics, eſpecially the people, who called him always, *Our great Man*. He had a ſcar on the left cheek, below his eye, which only ſerved to make him more reſpected, becauſe he received it in fighting againſt the huguenots, at the battle of Château-Thierry, by a piſtol ſhot from a German trooper. He was, on the contrary, ſo hated by his own family, whom he treated with an inſupportable inſolence, and ſeverity, that we are aſſured his relations, and even his own brothers, through fear of falling under the power of a tyrant, were the perſons that ſent Henry III. the moſt certain intelligence of his actions and deſigns; an intelligence which was ſuſpected by the prince, as that given to the duke by many of the courtiers concerning the king's violent reſolution againſt him, was by him; for they both imagined from thence that the deſign was to prevail upon them to quit the party, and break with the ſtates of Blois, in which each of them would have found his account. Henry III. at firſt deſigned only to arreſt the duke of Guiſe, but he found it would be dangerous; and ſtill more to make him priſoner; therefore he determined to have him poignarded. Both the bodies were conſumed in a fire, the bones burnt in a low hall of the caſtle, and the aſhes thrown into the air.

The king of Navarre, who had no hand in this aſſaſſination, was the perſon who gained moſt by it. In all appearance, while the duke of Guiſe lived, he would never have obtained the crown. We are aſſured alſo, that there were then great deſigns formed between France and Spain, not only to extirpate the proteſtant party, but even to dethrone Elizabeth, which the event of the barricades, followed by the death of the duke of Guiſe, was only able to hinder the execution of. The king of Navarre lamented the fate of the duke of Guiſe, without blaming Henry III. "I always, ſaid he, foreſaw, "and ſaid, that meſſieurs de Guiſe would never undertake the en-"terprize they had conceived, and bring it to an iſſue, without en-"dangering their lives." Cayet, vol. I. fol. 114. Several other perſons were of the ſame opinion. "Curſed be Lorrain," ſaid Hubert de Vins, in the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, "for his ſtupidity in ſuppoſing,

THE death of Catherine de Medicis, which happened ſoon after ‡ the aſſaſſination of the duke of Guiſe, did not afford Henry III. more liberty to follow his inclinations, which led him to unite himſelf with the king of Navarre. The league was not extinct with the duke of Guiſe; he had the minds of the people to calm, the grandees to regain, the pope to appeaſe, and Spain to keep in bounds, and the diſpleaſure of all the catholics to aſſuage, who, after this execution, were well diſpoſed to queſtion his religion.

HENRY, like all weak men, magnified theſe difficulties; he flattered himſelf he ſhould reduce every thing to order by mildneſs; and therefore publicly aſſerted his privilege, explained his reaſons for what he had done, and loudly juſtified his conduct. He ought to have employed arms alone againſt a party, which had no longer any reſpect for the royal authority; and inſtead of increaſing the preſumption of the populace (who in power are no leſs inſolent, than abject in obedience) by a moderation which can only be aſcribed to weakneſs, he ought to have declared himſelf boldly the aſſailant, and ſought for vengeance like a king. Had he acted in this manner, conjunctly with the king of Navarre, he might, in all probability, have prevented the loſs of Orleans, and

"ſing, that a king, whoſe crown he was attempting to take away "by diſſimulation, would not likewiſe diſſemble with him, to take "away his life." "Since they are ſo near each other," ſaid madam de Fourbin, the ſiſter of de Vins, "we ſhall hear the very firſt day, "either one or the other has ſlain his companion."

The tragical events of the year 1588 have appeared to ſome to verify the prediction of Regiomontanus, and other aſtrologers, that this year would be the climacteric of the world. I find in it only a new confirmation of the folly of this ridiculous ſcience.

‡ In the opinions of thoſe who have beſtowed ſo many praiſes upon this princeſs, it ſeemed ſufficient to merit the title of a politician, that ſhe knew how to engroſs the management of all affairs, and to keep herſelf in poſſeſſion of authority; but when one reflects that theſe ſuppoſed abilities, which conſiſted, however, in making uſe of unworthy means, and contemptible artifices, brought things at laſt to ſuch an extremity, that neither ſhe, nor any other, knew any

an infinite number of other * places; nor had he been at laſt reduced to the cities of Blois, Beaugency, Amboiſe, Tours, and Saumur.

I WAS either a witneſs to all theſe events, or was ſoon informed of them at Roſny, whither I had retired, as to a place, where I could eaſily obſerve whatever paſſed at court. I left it as ſoon as I thought it was neceſſary to give the king of Navarre an account of theſe tranſactions. He had not been a little perplexed himſelf during this interval, in unravelling and overthrowing the ſchemes of the viſcount Turenne; who putting himſelf in the prince of Condé's place, continued all his projects for himſelf, and acted in the ſame manner by the king of Navarre, as the duke of Guiſe did by Henry III. In an aſſembly of the proteſtants, held at Rochelle, he boldly declared, that France, in the preſent conjuncture, could not poſſibly avoid ſeeing her monarchy diſmembered; and he gave them to underſtand that, in the diviſion which would be made of it, he would not forget himſelf. The king of Navarre complained of this conduct in the ſame aſſemblies; and to engage the proteſtants more

any longer what remedies to apply to them; it may be juſtly aſſerted, that the quality of a politician did not compenſate for the numberleſs faults ſhe committed. It is believed, that the fatal conſequences which ſhe apprehended would attend the murder of the Guiſes, in which ſhe had no part, the cardinal of Bourbon's reproaches, the horror of the preſent time, and perhaps the ſtings of her conſcience, haſtened her death, which happened the 5th of January, 1589. She was forgot ſoon afterwards. De Thou, book xciv. Her laſt advice to her ſon was, to put an end to the perſecution againſt the proteſtants, and to eſtabliſh an entire liberty of religion in France. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 132. Brantome's prejudices againſt this queen renders all he has ſaid to her diſadvantage very doubtful, vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 31, and following. Varillas is not more to be believed; when he ſays, that her death was occaſioned by her grief for the murder of the duke, whom ſhe was very fond of. Siri praiſes her like a foreigner, who was not well acquainted with the affairs of our court in that time; for he came to France long after the death of that queen. Memoirs of Recon di Vittorio Siri, vol. I. p. 26.

* "'Tis a puff of wind," ſaid Henry III. ſpeaking of thoſe cities, "which has thrown down a pack of cards."

firmly

firmly to his perſon, he joined his actions to words, ſeized upon Garnache, and took Niort by ſtorm, after a bloody and furious battle. It was at his return from this expedition, that he fell dangerouſly ill * at la Mothe-Frêlon.

I TOOK my way through Blois, in order to form my laſt conjectures by the ſituation in which I ſhould find the court. Although I made uſe of all poſſible precautions to avoid being diſcovered by any perſon; yet the marquis of † Rambouillet ſeeing me paſs through the ſtreet, knew me, though wrapt up in my cloak, and ordered me to be watched to my lodging. The marquis was a man of ſtrict honeſty, and had always the good of the ſtate in view, without any conſiderations of ſelf intereſt: he conceived, that it belonged to him to draw ſome advantage from this rencounter, to make one more effort upon the king's mind, and prevail upon him at length to throw himſelf into the arms of the king of Navarre. He found him in ſuch a diſpoſition as he wiſhed, and the king was the rather induced to employ me upon this occaſion, as he remembered I had already been ſent to him on that buſineſs. Rambouillet coming to me by his order, we concerted together what was neceſſary to be done; after which he preſented me to his majeſty, who confirmed to me himſelf his intentions. The many ineffectual engagements into which he had entered with the king of Navarre, made me think it neceſſary to aſk him for a credential letter to that prince; but he denied this requeſt, out of an apprehenſion that this letter might fall

* He left St. Hermine, in Lower Poitou, in the month of January, to go and aſſiſt Garnache, which was beſieged by the duke of Nevers. Du-Pleſſis-Mornay led his troops, and he himſelf marched on foot, as if he was ſhooting. He over-heated himſelf, and was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, attended with a fever, which obliged him to ſtop at the firſt houſe he came to, which belonged to a gentleman called la Mothe-Frêlon. Du-Pleſſis perſuaded him to be let blood, which cured him. Life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, book i. p. 125.

† Nicholas d'Angennes.

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into the hands of the nuncio Moroſini §, or the duke of Nevers, to whom, he ſaid, notwithſtanding the eſteem he had for me, he ſhould be obliged to deliver me, if I was diſcovered in Blois. I gave up this point, therefore; but afterwards demanded, for the ſecurity of the king of Navarre, that when he ſhould enter a country full of his enemies, a town might be given him, that would afford him a free paſſage over the Loire. This, for the ſame reaſon, was not granted. I did not attribute theſe refuſals to any bad intention of the king's, but only to the fear he was in of thoſe two men, upon whom he had voluntarily made himſelf dependent. I did not, however, believe, that the king of Navarre, without this laſt article was yielded to, would advance with his troops as far as Blois. But this difficulty was removed by Brigneux, the governor of Beaugency, whom I viſited before I went away. After telling me, that he ſaw, with grief, this place, like the reſt, would be infallibly loſt by the meaſures the king purſued, he offered to reſign the care of it to me, or to Rebours, or any other officer the king of Navarre ſhould approve; adding, that he choſe rather to reſign his poſt, and follow this prince as a volunteer only, than to continue in Beaugency, where his advice was not regarded.

AFTER this aſſurance, I returned immediately to the king of Navarre: this prince liſtened to me attentively, but not being able to ſuppreſs thoſe doubts, which his frequent diſappointments from

§ John Francis Moroſini, biſhop of Breſce. Lewis de Gonzague, duke of Nevers. Sixtus V. had juſt then publiſhed a bull of excommunication againſt Henry, which this prince uſed his utmoſt endeavour to get recalled. This pope, who was ſaid to be equally fit to govern a great kingdom as to be the head of the church, ſecretly approved of that juſtice which the king of France had executed upon the duke of Guiſe; but he could not pardon him for involving a cardinal in it. See in Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175. the cardinal de Joyeuſe's letters already cited. Sixtus V. foretold, that the league would reduce Henry to the neceſſity of applying to the king of Navarre and the huguenots for aſſiſtance.

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the king of France had inſpired him with, he often aſked me, with an unquiet tone of voice, and irreſolute action, if I now really thought the king of France ſincere? I proteſted to him that I believed he was; and added the engagement of Rambouillet. "Well then, replied the king, I will not take his "towns, while he continues to treat faithfully "with me;" for he had taken Châtelleraud that very day. "Return then, added he, and carry "him my letters; for I neither fear Moroſini nor "Nevers." Accordingly he made me go with him that moment to breakfaſt in his cloſet; and I took poſt again for Blois.

The king of France, who did not doubt but the king of Navarre's anſwer would be ſuch as he deſired, had, through impatience, advanced as far as Montrichard, with all his train. I found all the lodgings in this little place either taken up or beſpoke, ſo that as I arrived very late, I began to think I ſhould be obliged to paſs the night in the ſtreet: luckily Maignan found out the marquis of Rambouillet's lodgings, and he provided me with thoſe that had been deſigned for one of my brothers, who was then at Tours. At midnight I went to the king, who waited for me in a garret of the caſtle. He approved of, and ſigned every thing, even to the paſſage over the Loire; and would have had me to ſet out again that ſame night. The report of a treaty between the two kings had already reached Châtelleraud, when I arrived there; and was ſo paſſionately deſired by the people, that as ſoon as I appeared, they loaded me with a thouſand bleſſings.

The king of Navarre was already gone from thence. This prince, who depended upon nothing but his ſword, being informed that the league had entered † Argenton, marched haſtily thither, and arrived ſo ſeaſonably, that he forced the troops of

† In the Upper Poitou.

the

the league to diſlodge, before they had received the ſupplies neceſſary to maintain them there. He left Beaupré governor in this place, after I had viſited the caſtle, and put it into a condition of defence.

THE fatigue I had ſuffered from ſo many ſucceſſive journeys, threw me, at my return, into a continued fever, which confined me to my bed twelve days. Du-Pleſſis took advantage of this accident, to deprive me of the honour of a treaty which he had only the trouble of drawing up, and in which the marquis of Rambouillet ‡ had as great a ſhare as himſelf. This treaty was ſigned at Pleſſis-les-Tours, to the great ſatisfaction of the two kings. Saumur was the place of ſecurity that was agreed upon, and § Du-Pleſſis did not fail to procure the government of it, as a fit reward for him to whom they were obliged for the ſucceſs of the treaty.

THIS proceeding appeared to me ſo extremely unjuſtifiable, that I complained loudly of Du-Pleſſis, and even of the king of Navarre himſelf, who had beſtowed the fruit of my labour upon another. The count of Soiſſons, who never had any regard to the general intereſt, or took part in the public joy, made uſe of this circumſtance to endeavour to engage me in his new deſigns; and my two brothers, on the other ſide, preſſed me earneſtly to attach myſelf wholly to the party of the king of France: but I rejected this propoſition, nor was my fidelity to my prince to be ſhaken by all the efforts that were made to ſeduce me. When I reflected alſo, that the government of Saumur would have obliged me to a conſtant reſidence there, and by conſequence have removed me always from the king of Navarre, I found, that what had appeared an act of injuſ-

‡ It is but juſtice to inform the reader, that theſe facts are related very differently in the life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, book i. p. 131; but to which of the writers moſt credit ought to be given is not eaſy to decide.

§ Philip Mornay, lord of Pleſſis-Marly.

tice

tice, was, in reality, a favour, which merited my acknowledgment.

NOTHING now remained for the two kings to do, but to have a conference together, in order to concert their future enterprizes. For this purpoſe, the king of Navarre ſet out from Pleſſis-les-Tours. Still aſſaulted by ſome remains of diſtruſt ‖, which he could with difficulty ſuppreſs, he ſtopped near a mill, about two leagues from the caſtle, and would know the opinion of each of the gentlemen that compoſed his train, upon the ſtep he was going to take. I was amongſt them, and the remembrance of the injuſtice, as I then thought it, which he had offered me, keeping me ſilent: the king of Navarre turning to me, "You ſay nothing, ſaid he; what "are your thoughts of the matter?" I anſwered, in a few words, That it was true, the ſtep he was taking was not without danger, becauſe the troops of the king of France were ſuperior to his; but that I looked upon this to be one of thoſe circumſtances, in which ſomething ought to be left to chance; and that as for the reſt, one ought to content one's ſelf with uſing all the precautions which prudence could ſuggeſt. This prince pauſing for a few moments, then turning towards us, "Let us "go on *, ſaid he, my reſolution is fixed."

THE king of France came into the field to meet the king of Navarre, and the joy of an union which had been ſo ardently deſired, drew together ſo great

‖ "His old huguenot officers, they ſay, were afraid that at a "time when treachery was ſo neceſſary to Henry III. to extricate "him out of the labyrinth into which the action he had committed "at Blois had introduced him (for he had been excommunicated "by Sixtus V.) he would not ſcruple to purchaſe his abſolution at "the price of the king of Navarre's life." Pereſixe, ibid. This prince had often himſelf ſaid, as De Thou relates, "That he never "went to the king's cloſet but through the midſt of two armies, "ranged on each ſide."

* He wrote to Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, in theſe terms: "Monſieur "Du-Pleſſis, the ice is broken, not without many warnings, that if "I went I ſhould be a dead man: I paſſed the water, recommend-"ing myſelf to God, &c."

a con-

a concourſe of people, that the two kings continued above a quarter of an hour, at the diſtance of fifty paces from each other, without being able to approach nearer: at length the croud giving way, they embraced with equal ſatisfaction on both ſides *, and took the road together to Tours, where the king of Navarre lay one night, and then returned to his quarters at Maillé. As for me, I ſtaid at Tours, being detained by a great number of my friends and relations, whom I found there, and fixed my reſidence in the ſuburb St. Symphorien.

THE duke of Maïenne, who had taken arms to revenge the death of the duke of Guiſe, and to ſupport the intereſt of the league, had no deſign to leave us long in quiet, but marched with his whole army towards this city. The king, who had walked as far as † Marmoutier, unarmed, and attended only by twenty horſe, narrowly eſcaped being taken, and was obliged to return precipitately to Tours. The ſuburbs having no other intrenchments than ſome ſlight barricades, erected in haſte, by ſix or ſeven regiments of royaliſts, who defended them, I quitted the ſuburb of St. Symphorien, and ordered all my equipage to be carried into the city. My conduct was by the officers taxed with timidity; but it was not long ere it was ſufficiently juſtified.

THE duke of Maïenne attacked the ſuburb. He was ſtopped ſome moments by means of five or ſix houſes, on the top of the hill, where our people had poſted themſelves; but they were ſoon obliged to abandon them, in order to intrench themſelves behind the barricades, where expecting ſoon to be aſſaulted, they made uſe of this interval to ſnatch a haſty refreſhment.

* At the bridge of La-Motte, a quarter of a league from Tours: "Courage, my lord, ſaid Henry IV. to Henry III. two Henry's are "worth more than one Carolus." Matthiéu, vol. I. p. 152. The duke of Maïenne's name was Charles.

† An Abbey near Tours.

I MET

I MET the king at the gate of the city, and making me enter, he told me, that he believed it would be in vain to endeavour to defend the ſuburbs. In effect, the barricades could not reſiſt the enemy's cannon; they were forced at the firſt onſet, and as they had no ditch to ſupport them, their retreat into the city was ſo confuſed, and ſo much expoſed to the enemy, that I am ſurprized all the ſoldiers in the ſuburbs were not either taken or ſlain, and that the enemies did not even enter the city along with them. Two pieces of cannon would have been ſufficient for that purpoſe. I ſaw the flight of our people from the convent of Jacobins, which looked over the walls of the city; and fearing that the danger would increaſe, I ran with my two brothers to the gate, to which they all preſt tumultuouſly, and by means of ſome intrenchments we ordered to be made, rendered their retreat more ſecure, and with a little time and order, they all entered; after which we cloſed up the gate, and ſet a ſtrong guard over it.

IT was no longer doubted, but that the city would be beſieged in form. I joined Châtillon, and ſome others, and we went to intreat the king to confide ſome important poſt to our care; he gave us the Iſles ‡, and we laboured there without ceaſing from that moment, till the next morning, that the king came to viſit our work. He addreſſed himſelf to me and praiſed our diligence greatly, but it was uſeleſs; for at the firſt news of what had happened, the king of Navarre marched haſtily with his troops to Tours, and appeared in three hours before city. The duke of Maïenne would not wait for him, but retreated, after plundering the ſuburbs, and the neighbouring places. A ſervice of this importance gave great hopes of what an alliance between the two

‡ Read the Iſle. This quarter, which is inhabited only by watermen, and the meaneſt people, is of great conſequence to the defence of Tours.

kings

kings might produce, and made the inhabitants of Tours look upon the king of Navarre ‖ as their deliverer.

THE two kings continued together eight or ten days, after which they ſeparated for the expedition that had been projected on the city of Poitiers. While they carried on the works there, the king of Navarre ſent me with three hundred horſe, and a like number of arquebuſiers, to whom he alſo gave horſes, to defend Chartres, it having been diſcovered, that * Maintenon was ſecretly endeavouring to poſſeſs himſelf of this city, in the name of the league. I provided myſelf with rope-ladders, petards, and other inſtruments, and came directly to † Bonneval, without taking any refreſhment that whole day. Some priſoners whom we took for a detachment of twenty-five troopers, informed us, that the enemy had a party of four hundred horſe in the field, with Broſſe Saveuſe ‡ at their head; and that Reclainville § who led the twenty-five troopers, had taken us for a body of a hundred and twenty horſe, with which Lorges had juſt ſurprized Châteaudun. We concluded from this account, that the party of four hundred horſe wanted to come up with us; and we, on our ſide, having the ſame deſire, left our arquebuſiers to purſue the road to Chartres leiſurely, and taking ours through the little hills, in order to reach the enemy's ſquadron, we met them on the top of a ſmall hill, which each party had climbed up on his own ſide; ſo that we neither ſaw them, nor they us, till we were within two hundred paces of each other.

‖ Henry IV. highly extolled the behaviour of Henry III, who ſhewed great courage upon this occaſion. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 589.

* Lewis d'Angennes, lord of Maintenon.

† A town upon the confines of Perche.

‡ Charles de Tiercelin, and Anne his brother; the eldeſt was called Saveuſe, and the youngeſt de Broſſe.

§ Lewis de Alonville, lord of Reclainville, or l'Arclainville, who commanded in Chartres for the duke of Maïenne.

WE

We came to blows immediately §, and with ſo much fury, that by the firſt ſhock forty of our men were thrown to the ground. I was of this number, together with Meſſ. de Châtillon ‖, de Mouy, de Montbazon, d'Avantigny, and de Preſſaigny. Happily I had received no wound; my horſe, who was only cut in the jaw, got up again, and I found myſelf ſtill on his back. Perhaps there never was an action of this kind of combat, more furious, obſtinate, or more bloody. Four or five times we returned to the charge, the enemies rallying again the moment they were put into diſorder. I had two ſwords broke, and was obliged to have recourſe to a pair of piſtols loaded with ſteel balls, againſt which no arms were proof. Our enemies finding they had loſt two hundred of their men, left us at laſt in poſſeſſion of the field of battle.

We were not in a condition to enjoy the fruits of our victory: extreme wearineſs, and the pain of our wounds kept us motionleſs. A little reſt was all we wiſhed for, when a heavy rain fell, which, mixing with our ſweat, wet us over in an inſtant; for we were obliged to cover our arms with our cloaths: and to complete our misfortunes, we learnt that the duke of Maïenne was at our heels. In this melancholy ſituation, a council being held, it was reſolved, notwithſtanding the condition we were in, that we ſhould march all night, and endeavour to get back to Beaugency. We arrived there, almoſt ſpent with fatigue and thirſt. My ſtrength being quite exhauſted, all I could do was to ſink down upon a bed, nor was it poſſible to awake me to take any nouriſhment.

The report of this battle being ſpread every where, the king of Navarre came to Beaugency to viſit us, and expreſſed himſelf highly ſatisfied with

§ May 18.

‖ Francis de Châtillon, the admiral's ſon, the leader of the troop. Iſaac Vaudré de Mouy. Lewis de Rohan, duke of Montbazon.

our

our behaviour. Saveuſe being among the priſoners, was brought before him, and the king, who, from the ſame principle of generoſity careſſed the brave, and compaſſionated the unfortunate, endeavoured to conſole him, by praiſes on his conduct, and every kind of good treatment. But Saveuſe knowing that a great number of his relations, and almoſt all his friends, periſhed in the fight, his grief for their loſs, the ſhame he felt at being vanquiſhed, and the dangerous wounds he had received, inſpired ſuch an extreme deſpair, that he became delirious, and died in the frenzy of a raging fever, without ſuffering his wounds to be dreſt. The king of Navarre made us ſet out for Châteaudun, where a few days reſt entirely obliterated all remembrance of our paſt fatigues.

I WAS upon the point of leaving this place, when a courier brought me news that my wife was dangerouſly ill. I flew to Roſny, with Dortoman *, firſt phyſician to the king of Navarre, whom this prince ordered to accompany me. All this canton was in the intereſts of the league; and one of my brothers †, who had taken poſſeſſion of my houſe, the ſame wherein my wife lay ill, had the cruelty to draw up the bridge, and refuſe me entrance. Pierced to my inmoſt ſoul with a treatment ſo inhuman, I ſwore I would enter, or periſh in the attempt, and already began to apply ladders to the walls, when my brother, who did not perhaps expect ſo much reſolution, ordered the gate to be opened.

THE only conſolation I had was to find my wife ſtill alive, and to receive her laſt embraces: all remedies were ineffectual, and ſhe died four days after my arrival. The loſs of a wife ſo dear to me, and whoſe life had been expoſed to ſuch cruel viciſſitudes of fortune, ſhut my heart during a whole month to every other paſſion but grief. I heard with inſenſi-

* Nicholas Dortoman, a native of Arnheim.

† This is certainly the eldeſt, who was called the baron of Roſny.

bility the progreſs of the arms of the two kings, which at any other time would have inflamed me with an ardent deſire of ſharing in their dangers and glory; for it was about this time, that they took Gergeau, Pluviers, Eſtampes, Chartres §, Poiſſy, Pontoiſé, the iſle of Adam, Beaumont, and Creil. Every little inconſiderable town boaſted of having ſtopped her king, who found nothing but revolt and diſobedience over all his dominions. He was now ſenſible of the great advantage he drew from the king of Navarre's aſſiſtance. As for this prince, he was as prodigal of life as if he had been weary of it: wherever there was moſt danger, there was he to be ſeen at the head of his ſoldiers. In one of thoſe many encounters he had to maintain, at the very moment when, to reſt himſelf, he was leaning upon Charbonniere, this colonel was, by a muſket-ſhot, laid dead at his feet.

I AWAKED as from a deep ſleep at the news ‖ of the two kings holding Paris beſieged; and leaving a place where every object I ſaw renewed my affliction, I went to join the army. It was here that I ſoothed that grief which ſtill filled my heart, by expoſing myſelf careleſly in all the ſkirmiſhes we had with the enemy, then more frequent than ever, particularly in the field, which was called the Scholars meadow. The king of Navarre perceived my deſign, and obſerving that Maignan, my equery, whom he often ordered to go to me, and force me away, durſt not do it, he deſired him only to tell me, that he wanted to ſpeak to me.

SCARCE had he uttered one word, when he was interrupted by a gentleman, who whiſpered ſomething in his ear, and left him immediately. The

§ Towns in the neighbourhood of Paris, in the iſle of France, la Beauce, and l'Orleans. See an account of this in the hiſtorians.

‖ If we may believe Matthieu, vol. II. p. 3. theſe two kings were greatly diſſatisfied with each other. Henry III. could not conceal his jealouſy of Henry IV. who, far from expecting to reign, reſolved to retire as ſoon as he had re-eſtabliſhed the king upon his throne.

king

king of Navarre, amazed at what he had heard, called me again inſtantly, and told me an aſſaſſin had dangerouſly wounded the king of France with a knife*: then mounting his horſe, and attended only by five and twenty gentlemen which were about

* By James Clement, a jacobin monk, born in Sorbonne, a village in Burgundy. He was introduced by la Gueſle, the ſolicitor-general, into the king's chamber, as having a letter of great conſequence to deliver to him. This prince, who had a great kindneſs for monks, roſe from the cloſe-ſtool upon which he was ſitting, having already read part of the letter, when the aſſaſſin ſtruck him in the belly with a knife, which he left ſticking in the wound. The king drew it out, and wounded the jacobin with it in the forehead, who was immediately killed by the gentlemen of his chamber. His body was burnt, and the aſhes thrown into the Seine. The hiſtorians have not forgot to obſerve, as a circumſtance at that time not doubted of, that Henry III. was murdered in the ſame houſe, and (if we believe them) in the ſame chamber, place, and month, where ſeventeen years before that prince had aſſiſted at the council, in which the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew was reſolved upon. Monſieur Bayle ſeems to have given credit to this anecdote, which is now proved to be falſe, the houſe at the time of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew not being built. Henry III. died in the night between the ſecond and third of Auguſt, aged 38 years. "James Clement being at St. "Cloud, ſome perſons, who ſuſpected him, went at night into his "chamber to obſerve him. They found him in a profound ſleep, "his brevary before him, open at the article of Judith. He faſted, "confeſſed himſelf, and received the ſacrament before he ſet out to "aſſaſſinate the king. He was praiſed for this action at Rome, in "the chair where Henry the third's funeral oration ought to have "been pronounced. At Paris, his picture was placed on the altars "with the euchariſt. Cardinal de Retz relates, that on the anniver-"ſary day of the barricades, in the minority of Lewis XIV. he ſaw "a gorget upon which this monk was engraved, with theſe words "underneath, St. James Clement." Notes upon the Henriade.

"The king of Navarre," ſays Victor Gayet, Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 223. "kneeled at his bedſide, ſighs and tears not per-"mitting him to ſpeak a word. He took his majeſty's hands be-"tween his, and kiſſed them. The king, perceiving that he was "ſilent through the ſtrong emotions with which he was agitated, "embraced his head, kiſſed him, and gave him his benediction. "Had not the knife been poiſoned, the wound would not have been "mortal; for it was not deep, and had not reached the inteſtines, "fol. 217. Bourgoin, prior of the jacobins, was tore to pieces by "four horſes. They could extort nothing but theſe words from him, "*We have done what we could, but not what we would have done*; "which made it be believed, that Henry IV. was deſigned to have been aſſaſſinated at the ſame time. The ſieur de Rougemont was arreſt-ed, for having deſired to ſtrike the blow himſelf." fol. 228. He

him, took the road to St. Cloud, which was the king's quarters. At his entrance into this prince's apartment, he found he had juſt received an injection, which came away again without either pain or blood. The king of Navarre approached his bed, amidſt all the agitation and grief that the ſincereſt friendſhip could inſpire. The king comforted him with aſſurances, that his wound would have no bad conſequences, and that God would prolong his life, that he might be in a condition to give him new proofs of his affection. The wounded monarch pronounced theſe words in ſuch a manner, as removed part of the king of Navarre's apprehenſions, who ſeeing likewiſe no appearance of any dangerous ſymptoms, left him to his repoſe, and returned to his quarters at Meudon.

My lodgings were at the bottom of this caſtle, in the houſe of a man named Sauvat. After I had attended the king of Navarre to his apartment, I went home to ſup, and had juſt placed myſelf at table, when I ſaw Ferret his ſecretary enter, who ſaid to me, "Sir, the king of Navarre, and perhaps the king "of France, deſires you will come to him inſtant-"ly." Surprized at theſe words, I went with him immediately to the caſtle; and as he walked, he told me that Dortoman had informed the king of Navarre, by an expreſs, that if he would ſee the king of France alive, he had not a moment to loſe.

I went directly to the king of Navarre's apartment, where while our horſes were ſaddling, he did

died like a good chriſtian. "He forgave his enemies, and even "Clement himſelf," ſays Matthieu the hiſtorian. See, in the hiſtorians, a fuller account of his death. His character may be collected from what is ſaid of him in theſe Memoirs. He was called, at his baptiſm, Edward Alexander, by Edward VI. king of England, and Antony king of Navarre; but Catherine made him afterwards aſſume the name of his father.

It is ſaid, that ſeventeen or eighteen perſons having gathered up the aſhes of Clement, which the wind had diſperſed, getting into a boat with theſe aſhes, the boat was ſwallowed up by the Seine, and all that were in it.

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me the honour to conſult me upon the preſent conjuncture. So many different thoughts preſented themſelves to my mind that moment, that I continued ſome time ſilent, nor was the king in leſs agitation. It was not the event of a little negotiation, the ſucceſs of a battle, or the poſſeſſion of a ſmall kingdom, ſuch as Navarre, that employed his thoughts, but the greateſt monarchy in Europe. But how many obſtacles had he to ſurmount, how many labours to endure, ere he could hope to obtain it! All that he had hitherto done, was nothing in compariſon to what remained to do. How cruſh a party ſo powerful, and in ſuch high credit, that it had given fears to a prince eſtabliſhed on the throne, and almoſt obliged him to deſcend from it! This difficulty already ſo great, appeared inſurmountable, when he reflected, that the king's death would deprive him of the beſt and greateſt part of his forces. He could have no dependence either on the princes of the blood, or the grandees; and in his preſent condition he had occaſion for every one's aſſiſtance, yet had no one in whom he could confide. I was ſtruck with fear, when he ſuggeſted to me, that it was poſſible ſuch ſurprizing, and unexpected news might occaſion a revolution, which would expoſe him with only a few of his moſt faithful ſervants to the mercy of his old enemies, in a country where he was abſolutely deſtitute of every reſource.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe difficulties, every one confeſt that the king of Navarre had but one part to take, which was to ſeize this opportunity, and uſe it with all thoſe precautions which generally determine the event. Without attempting to judge of the future, which depends upon too many accidents, much leſs to ſubject it to our precipitation; in bold and difficult enterprizes, we ſhould endeavour to ſubdue one obſtacle at a time; nor ſuffer ourſelves to be depreſt by their greatneſs, and their number. We ought never to deſpair of what has

been once accompliſhed. How many things have the idea of impoſſible been annexed to, that have become eaſy to thoſe who knew how to take advantage of time, opportunity, lucky moments, the faults of others, different diſpoſitions, and an infinite number of other circumſtances?

The anſwer I made the king was founded on theſe maxims, and we agreed that, inſtead of going back to the different provinces, he ſhould remain in the midſt of the royal army to ſupport his claim, and ſet out immediately for St. Cloud, but well armed at all events, taking care, however, to keep our extraordinary arms concealed, that we might not ourſelves be the firſt to create terror and ſuſpicion. When we entered St. Cloud, they told us the king was better; and obliged us to put off our ſwords I followed the king of Navarre, who advanced towards the caſtle, when ſuddenly we heard a man exclaim, "Ah! my God, we are loſt." The king of Navarre making this man approach, who continued crying, "Alas! the king is dead," aſked him ſeveral queſtions, which he ſatisfied by ſuch a circumſtantial recital of the king's death, that we could no longer doubt the truth of it.

Henry no longer doubted, when he ſaw the Scots guard, who threw themſelves at his feet, ſaying, "Ah, Sire! you are now our king and our "maſter." And ſome moments after, meſſ. de Biron †, de Bellegarde, d'O, de Châteauvieux, de Dampierre, and ſeveral others, did the ſame.

The king of Navarre was convinced that this was one of thoſe critical moments, upon the good or bad uſe of which his deſtiny depended. Without ſuffering himſelf to be dazzled with the view of a throne, to which he was that inſtant called, or oppreſt by difficulties, and uſeleſs grief, he calmly

† Armand de Gontaut, marechal de Biron. Roger de St. Larry Bellegarde, grand ecuyer of France. Francis d'O, governor of Paris, and ſuperintendant of the finances. Joachim de Châteauvieux.

began

began to give orders for keeping every one in their duty, and preventing mutinies: then turning to me, with that familiar air which he uſed to thoſe of whoſe affection he was aſſured, he bid me go to the marechal d'Aumont's ‡ quarters; and there, with all the precaution neceſſary to his intereſt, ſpread among his troops the news of the king's death, and to ſpeak by this marechal to the French guards, to engage their officers to come and pay their homage to him in the afternoon, and to prevail upon the nobility to do the like. He recommended to me to obſerve my own quarters carefully, and keep all there in due obedience. After which he applied himſelf to gain all the foreign powers, on whoſe aſſiſtance he thought he might depend, and wrote or ſent deputies to Germany, England, Flanders, Switzerland, and the republic of Venice, to inform them of this new event, and the claim which it gave him to the crown of France.

I REPRESENTED to him, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to get poſſeſſion of § Meulan immediately; a place, upon this occaſion, of the utmoſt importance, the governor of which (who was called St. Marc) he knew to be a zealous partiſan of the league in his heart. I explained to him in few words how eaſily this might be executed, and the king approving my ſcheme, I went to Meulan, and demanded a conference with St. Marc, upon affairs I ſaid of the greateſt conſequence to him. He came to me, and while I amuſed him with a feigned confidence, the marechal d'Aumont paſſed over the bridge with his troops, and taking advantage of the conſternation this occaſioned, proceeded to the caſtle, which he made himſelf maſter of, and we drove out the too credulous St. Marc.

THE king offered me this government, but from many conſiderations I choſe not to accept of it.

‡ John duke d'Aumont, marechal of France.
§ In the iſle of France.

Part of his apprehenſions were ſoon juſtified by the event; he found it impoſſible to keep either the duke of Epernon *, or many other diſaffected catholics, in his ſervice, eſpecially thoſe who owed their fortune to the deceaſed king. Their diſſention reduced him almoſt to thoſe troops only, which he had brought with him, and put it out of his power to continue the ſiege of Paris, or even to hold the adjacent places. The foreign powers either gave him nothing but promiſes, or offered him ſuch ſupplies as could be of no uſe in his preſent exigencies: he was obliged therefore to retire into the heart of the kingdom. He had already (though without diſcovering his real motive for it) cauſed a report to be ſpread among his ſoldiers of an intended journey to Tours. This retreat was equally neceſſary for the ſafety of his perſon, and the ſucceſs of his affairs. A thouſand dangers threatened him in the neighbourhood of a city, where the king his predeceſſor, though a catholic,

* The author of his life aſſigns very bad reaſons for this retreat: it is plain that nothing can excuſe it. Upon this occaſion it appears, that beſides the proteſtant party, there were three others among the catholics themſelves, the firſt of whom was compoſed of thoſe perſons who abandoned Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. the ſecond, thoſe who not being able to prevail upon this prince to declare that very moment, that he would embrace the catholic religion, continued with him, but had neither affection to his perſon, nor a ſincere attachment to his intereſt. The number of theſe was very great; the chief among them were the dukes of Longueville, and Nevers, d'O, (who had ſpoken to him in the name of the reſt) and many others. The third party was made up of thoſe who declared publicly, ſays d'Aubigné, that they would ſerve the king without any conditions: and theſe were indeed but very few in number, among which were the marechals d'Aumont, and Biron, Givry, &c. Henry was extremely perplexed at the rude propoſition made him by the catholics, and the declaration they added to it, that they would retire, if he did not give them this ſatisfaction. He told them reſolutely, that he would never be reproached with having been conſtrained to take ſuch a ſtep. And demanded ſix months time to think upon it. See the hiſtorians upon this ſubject, and particularly d'Aubigné, vol. III. book ii. chap. 23. Henry IV. received ſuch important ſervices upon this occaſion from the marechal Biron, that it was reported, it was he who made him king: and the marechal is ſaid to have reproached Henry with his ſervices in thoſe very terms. Mem. of Brantome, vol. III. p. 346.

and

and with a powerful army under his obedience, could not eſcape a violent death. It was here that the laſt reſolution was taken for the murder of this prince; and he had ſtill more reaſon to tremble, when he reflected that thoſe cruel deſigns were formed in the midſt of his army, and the aſſaſſins perhaps near his perſon.

In this perplexing ſituation, it was neceſſary to place a governor in Meulan, who had a regiment ready to defend it againſt the league, which, becoming inſolent by the king's death, in imagination already enjoyed the conqueſt of it. I having no regiment, nor ſufficient time to raiſe one, the government of Meulan was given to Bellengreville *.

The king, in his retreat, took Clermont †, and ſome other ſmall towns. His forces were too inconſiderable to admit of his engaging in greater enterprizes, which was the reaſon likewiſe that I miſſed of taking of ‡ Louviers, upon which I had a deſign that in all appearance would have ſucceeded. This deſign I communicated to the king, and deſired he would give me ſome forces for the execution of it. He could ſpare me no more than a company of his light-armed horſe, commanded by Arambure, which was not ſufficient; but he aſſured me, that I ſhould be joined at Louviers by a regiment of twelve hundred men, that was then at Nogent; and for this purpoſe he wrote to Couronneau the colonel of it.

With this hope I ſat down before Louviers, where I waited in vain for the ſupplies that had been promiſed me. The river of Eure, which ran into the ditches of Louviers, being turned, a great aqueduct that ſupplied the city with water became dry. This I obſerved, and it was through this place that I propoſed to enter it; but as it was not probable, that meſſieurs d'Aumale ‖, de la Londe, de Fontaine-

* Read, Joachim de Berengueville.

† In Beauvaiſis. ‡ A city of Normandy.

‖ Charles de Lorraine, duke of Aumale; --- Bigars de le Londe, mayor of Rouen; Francis de Fontaine-Martel, governor of Neufchâtel;

Martel, de Medavy, de Contenant, and many other officers of the league, of which this city was full, would ſurrender, or ſuffer themſelves to be taken, without ſtriking a blow, I thought it would be raſhneſs to attempt to force it with a handful of men: in order therefore to juſtify the truth of what I had aſſerted, I contented myſelf with ſending ſeveral perſons into the aqueduct, where I employed them only in enlarging the entrance, by forcing up with a petard the grate that cloſed it. By this means they ſeveral times penetrated into the city, and came out again without being perceived, which was a convincing proof that our attempt would have ſucceeded, if we had had a ſufficient number of ſoldiers.

I RETURNED by Pont-de-l'Arche, to meet the king of Navarre, at Ecouy, from whence he hoped to go immediately to Touraine; but he found the Normans ſo well inclined towards him, that he was determined by their offers, to attempt the important ſiege of Rouen. While preparations were making for this expedition, we took Gournay, Neufchâtel, the city of Eu, Treport, and Darnetal †; where the king received advice that the duke of Maïenne was deſirous of coming to a battle with him. I was ordered to go with fifty horſe to reconnoitre this general's army, which I found in the neighbourhood of Mante, and ſpread all over my eſtate. I went, and poſted myſelf in the foreſt; from whence I made obſervations, and brought the king information, that the army of the league conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. The king, who had only a little flying camp to oppoſe to ſo formidable an army, was not willing to neglect any precaution which might be neceſſary. He had already cauſed the commander of Chaſtes * to be

châtel; Charles Francis de Rouxel de Medavy; Timoleon de Bauves de Contenant.

† In Upper Normandy.

* Aimat de Chaſtes, knight of St. Lazarus, and governor of Dieppe.

ſounded,

ſounded, to know if in any caſe of neceſſity, he would receive him into Dieppe: and he had reaſon to be pleaſed with his anſwer; but, in order to be better aſſured of this governor's intentions, he went himſelf to confer with him, and returned extremely well ſatisfied. Finding therefore that he might depend upon a retreat ſo ſecure as Dieppe †, he the leſs feared to keep the field before the enemy; and reſolving to make head againſt them till the laſt extremity, he came and poſted himſelf before Arques ‡.

At the end of the cauſeway of Arques there is a long winding hill, covered with coppice: beneath is a ſpace of arable land, to the midſt of which is the great road that leads to Arques, having thick hedges on each ſide. Lower down, upon the left hand, there is a kind of great marſh or boggy ground. A village called Martingliſe ‖ bounds the hill, about half a league from the cauſeway. It was in this village, and in the neighbourhood of it, that the whole army of the duke of Maïenne was encamped. The king was ſenſible, that by attempting to reſiſt an army of above thirty thouſand men, with leſs than three thouſand, his conduct would be accuſed of raſhneſs; but beſides, that it would be very difficult to find a place more favourable for his few forces, and that there was danger in going back, he thought that the preſent weak condition his party was in, demanded ſome bold blow at the beginning. He neglected nothing that might compenſate, in ſome degree, for the ſmallneſs of his number; he ordered deep trenches to be cut at the cauſeway, and above, as well as beneath the great road: he poſted twelve hundred Swiſs on each ſide of this road, and ſix hundred German foot to defend the upper trenches; and

† Henry IV. it is ſaid, was reduced to ſuch an extremity under the walls of this city, that he was upon the point of retiring into England; which the marechal de Biron prevented, by adviſing him to make good his poſt at Arques. Before the battle of Arques, he ſaid, that he was a king without a kingdom, a huſband without a wife, and a warrior without money.

‡ In the country of Caux. ‖ Or Martin Egliſe.

placed a thouſand or twelve hundred others in a chapel, which ſtood in the midſt of the upper and lower trenches. Theſe were all the infantry he had: his cavalry, which amounted in all to but ſix hundred men, he divided into two equal ſquadrons; and with one, poſted himſelf between the wood and the road, and ſeparating the others into platoons, made them go down between the road and the moraſs, to fill in ſome ſort that ſpace. He did not ſleep that whole night; during which, fearing that the enemies would make themſelves maſters of the cauſeway, he kept guard there himſelf. In the morning they brought him ſome refreſhments into the ditch, where he invited his principal officers to breakfaſt with him; after which he thought, perhaps, to have taken a few moments reſt, when he was informed by the guards, that the army of the league was marching towards him, in order of battle.

AT this news, he ordered the viſcount de Chartres, Palcheux, Braſſeuſe, Avantigno, and three or four others, to advance into the wood, and endeavour to make ſome priſoners; they ſoon returned, bringing with them the count de Belin*. The king went to meet him, and embraced him ſmiling. The count, whoſe eyes were in ſearch of the king's army, ſeeing hardly any ſoldiers about him, anſwered him no otherways than by expreſſing his ſurprize at the ſmall number that ſeemed to be with him. "You ſee not "all," ſaid the king to him with the ſame gaiety: "for you reckon not God, and my claim, who "fight for me." Accuſtomed as I was to ſee this prince, I could not help admiring the tranquility that ſat upon his countenance, on an occaſion ſo much the more deſperate, as it gave time for reflection. His air was ſo ſerene, and his ardour tempered with ſo much prudence, that he appeared to the ſoldiers as

* Francis de Faudoas d'Averton de Serillac, count of Belin, deputy governor of Paris for the duke of Maïenne.

ſome-

ſomething more than human, and inſpired them all with the intrepidity of their leader.

The duke of Maïenne ordered the upper trenches to be attacked by a ſquadron of his German foot, who ſeemed to refuſe fighting, becauſe they had only Germans to encounter, and feigned to ſurrender. Our Germans were ſo effectually deceived by this artifice, that they ſuffered the others to advance and gain the trench, from whence they drove out ours; and from this advantageous poſt they gave us a great deal of trouble. I ſoon loſt ſight of all that was done at the ſide of the wood; for that part of the moraſs where I was, with ten of my men, was that moment attacked by a ſquadron of eight or nine hundred horſe. At the approach of ſo large a body, we drew together about a hundred and fifty horſe, and drove them back as far as the valley; where meeting with four other ſquadrons, we were obliged to retreat, till being joined in our turn by the count d'Auvergne *, who brought a hundred and fifty horſe more to our aſſiſtance, we a ſecond time beat back the enemies ſquadrons. This game could not laſt long: three hundred horſe from the enemies

* Charles de Valois, natural ſon of Charles IX. He is mentioned hereafter. It is upon the relation of this count, afterwards duke of Angoulême, that father Daniel, in his hiſtory of France, vol. IX. has given a deſcription of this battle, to which nothing can be added, and differs but little from that in our Memoirs. See alſo father Matthieu, vol. II. p. 14. and following. Cayet, vol. I. book ii. fol. 263, and following. The Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. p. 597. and the phyſician du Cheſne's account, &c. This battle was fought on Wedneſday September 20th: it began at ten o'clock in the morning, and ended at eleven. The duke of Maïenne, five days before, made ſeveral attempts upon Dieppe, which were called *eſcarmouches du Pollet*. "My companion," ſaid Henry IV. to Arreguer, colonel of the regiment of Soleure, "I come to die, or to gain honour with "you." "He drove back the treacherous Germans," &c. Le Grain, book v. "My father," ſaid this prince to colonel Galati, "keep a pike for me, for I will fight at the head of your battalion." Matthieu, ibid. p. 14. After the battle, he wrote to Grillon in theſe terms, "Hang thyſelf, brave Grillon, for we have fought at "Arques without thee. Adieu, brave Grillon, I love thee whether "I will or not."

army

army joining the firſt, we were forced to give ground, and regained the chapel in diſorder; where fortunately our foot ſoldiers, who were poſted there, ſtopped this cavalry ſhort, and engaged in a battle, wherein Sagonne* and ſome other officers were ſlain.

The duke of Maïenne commanding all the reſt of his German foot to attack the chapel, we yielded at length this poſt; and overpowered by numbers, abandoned the hollows in the road, and even the road itſelf. This might be called the beginning of a defeat; we ſhould have had reaſon to fear the event, had we not happily met the battalion of Swiſs, who ſuſtained the ſhock, gave us time to rally, and put us again into a condition of renewing the fight. Nothing could have happened more ſeaſonably. My horſe that moment falling dead of his wounds, I mounted a freſh one. To vanquiſh the brave reſiſtance of our Swiſs, the enemies thought proper to order five hundred horſe to march along the ſide of the moraſs: they would have taken us in the rear, and have eaſily overwhelmed the Swiſs, and the reſt of the ſoldiers, when luckily the horſes approaching too near to the moraſs, they remained entangled in the mire, and their riders with difficulty diſengaged them, by leaving their lances ſticking there.

The battle continued ſome time longer in this ſtate; that is to ſay, while we had any ſtrength left; but at length we began to ſink under the fatigue. On our ſide the ſame men were always in action, while our enemies were ſuſtained with freſh ſupplies, and multiplied every moment. Great part of our brigade was diſarmed and diſmounted: in this extremity, I was deputed by the troop to repreſent our ſituation to the king, and to aſk him for a reinforcement. I met this prince coming to our quarter: "My friend, ſaid he to me, I have no ſupplies to

† John Babou, count of Sagonne. Lewis de Rohan, and Joſias de la Rochefoucault, counts of Montbazon and de Rouſſy, loſt their lives alſo there.

ſend

"ſend you; however, we muſt not ſuffer ourſelves "to be depreſſed." In effect, he was in no better condition than we. He turned toward monſieur le Grand*, and bid him follow me with all the men he could get together from the upper part of the road. I went back to my party, and with a ſeeming joy informed them of the ſupply that was coming; upon which, however, I but little depended. Inſpired with freſh vigour, it may be truly ſaid, that at that moment every man gave proofs of a valour, ſcarcely credible. The thick fog, which concealed us from our enemies, hid from us likewiſe our danger; but when this fog was diſſipated, the ſun ſhewed us to them, and diſcovered their whole army to our view, which was pouring upon us. It was already ſo near, that we could not hope to gain the end of the cauſeway, where was our laſt entrenchment, and we thought of nothing but ſelling our lives dearly.

OUR ſafety we owed to a circumſtance that we had looked upon as our greateſt misfortune. The cannon of the caſtle of Arques had been rendered uſeleſs by the thickneſs of the fog; but as ſoon as the enemies could be diſtinguiſhed, it made a diſcharge ſo juſt, and was followed by ſo terrible an effect, although there were but four pieces of cannon, that the enemies were thrown into confuſion. Four other vollies ſucceeded with ſuch rapidity, as went quite through their army; which, no longer able to endure the fire, retired in diſorder to the ſide of the valley: behind which, ſome moments after, all this terrible multitude was loſt; aſtoniſhed, without doubt, at the great loſs they had ſuſtained, and diſheartened by a reſiſtance which the duke of Maïenne had not expected.

THE king, after an action which had covered him with glory, retired to Arques, from thence he went to Dieppe, harraſſed continually by the enemies, and engaged in frequent ſkirmiſhes; the detail of which

* Roger de St. Sarry, of Bellegarde.

I ſup-

I ſuppreſs, as having nothing very intereſting after the battle of Arques. The king, however, in one of theſe rencounters, found himſelf expoſed to a danger ſtill greater: for, believing the enemies at a diſtance, he was exerciſing a kind of military game in a meadow, and ſuſtained a diſcharge from two hundred fuſileers, who lay in ambuſh upon the ground, between two hedges, not more than two hundred paces from the place where we were.

It is certain, that any other than Henry would have ſunk under thoſe difficulties, before he could have been relieved by the ſupplies which were preparing for him; but by his valour*, and his ſkill in diſputing the ground, he gave time to four thouſand Engliſh and Scotch, that queen Elizabeth ſent him, to paſs the ſea; and this reinforcement was ſoon after followed by one more conſiderable, which was brought him by the count of Soiſſons, Henry of Orleans, duke of Longueville, d'Aumont, and Biron. It was owing to the count of Soiſſons that he was ſo often in danger at Dieppe, who amuſed himſelf with diſputing about the command of the forces, inſtead of haſtening to the king's aſſiſtance.

The duke of Maïenne durſt not wait for the junction of all theſe troops; he diſappeared with his army, and left the king maſter of the field. Henry then changing his reſolution of keeping in Normandy, ſet out again for Paris, which he had quitted with regret. He paſſed thro' Meulan and Poiſſy†, and from thence diſpatched me with the duke of

* "Sixtus V. preſaged, that the Bearnois would be the uppermoſt, ſince he was no longer in bed than the duke of Maïenne was at table. The duke of Maïenne was extremely ſlow in all his motions. If he does not act in another manner, ſaid the king, I ſhall certainly beat him always in the field." Perefixe, ibid. 2. The ſame pope, after the battle of Arques, applied theſe words to Henry IV. Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis, & conculcabis leonem, & draconem: meaning by the aſp the duke of Maïenne, the duke of Savoy by the baſiliſk, the king of Spain by the lion, and himſelf by the dragon.

† Theſe towns are upon the Seine.

Mont-

Montpenſier ‡, to endeavour a perfect correſpondence he had a long time before begun in Vernon, or to ſeize the city by means of that terror which his approach would cauſe in it. We found no probability of ſucceeding in either of theſe deſigns; therefore, the duke of Montpenſier went back to Normandy, and I joined the king at Villepreux.

His deſign was to alarm Paris, and even to attack it; and as he ſaw opportunity, to attempt to make himſelf maſter of it. He had taken the precaution to ſend perſons to break the bridge of St. Maixance *, by which the duke of Maïenne might have been able to aſſiſt this great city; for that general, alarmed by the king's march, had alſo come near Paris by the oppoſite ſide, that he might not meet the king. Henry, therefore, gave the neceſſary orders for attacking all the ſuburbs at the ſame time: that of St. Germain fell to monſieur d'Aumont, de Châtillon, and me. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, we fell upon this ſuburb; and having, though an immenſe, yet a confuſed and terrible multitude to oppoſe, we hemmed two large bodies of ſoldiers within the encloſure of the market of St. Germain; and there, in a leſs ſpace than two hundred paces, we left four hundred of them in a moment dead upon the place. I could hardly prevail upon myſelf to kill men already more than half dead with fear; but putting them out of a condition to reſiſt us, we paſſed, and advanced as far as the gate of Neſle: fifteen or twenty of us entered the city; but perceiving that our men did not follow us, we turned back: an order from the king to give over the attack was the cauſe of their abandoning us. The perſon whom he had ſent to demoliſh the bridge † of St. Maixance had performed

‡ Henry of Bourbon-Montpenſier, prince of the blood, the only ſon of Francis and Renée of Anjou, at that time ſeven and twenty years old. Henry III. took the government of Bretagne from him, without any cauſe, to beſtow it on the duke of Mercœur. He ſoon had reaſon to repent of it. * Upon the river Oiſe.

† De Thou obſerves, that the guard of this bridge was given to William de Montmorency, lord of Thoré; but being indiſpoſed at Senlis,

this commiſſion ſo ill, that the duke of Maïenne appeared within ſight of Paris with his whole army, at the ſame moment that we entered it.

The king was now convinced that his enterprize was no longer practicable, and that although we ſhould make ourſelves maſter of the city, which on our ſide would infallibly have happened, an army thus diſperſed in a city of ſuch vaſt extent as Paris, would have been in danger of being overpowered; having ſuch an infinite number of people to oppoſe within, and an army without to fight againſt, which would either enter with us, or keep us beſieged there. It was thus that this prince, tempering ſo happily courage with prudence, never ſuffered his ardor in battle to hinder him from following the calmer dictates of wiſdom. He was ſatisfied with throwing terror into the very heart of that city that dared to deſpiſe him, and giving it to know what it had to expect from him. Part of the ſuburbs was pillaged: our ſoldiers leaving nothing in that of St. Germain †, that they could conveniently carry away. I had for my ſhare three thouſand crowns, and all my men made very conſiderable booty.

Two days after, the king went to Eſtampes ‡, and reſuming his firſt deſign of ſhewing himſelf in the heart of the kingdom, went towards Tours, and

Senlis, he could not defend it. Book xcvii. I was attacked on All-ſaints day, upon advice ſent by James Corbinelly, a Florentine gentleman, to Henry IV. in theſe three words, Come, come, come, written on a bit of paper, which the bearer incloſed in a quill, and held in his mouth. They did not carry it for want of cannon to beat down the gates. Matthieu, vol. II. book i. p. 17. Cayet, vol. I. p. 270.

† "The ſieurs de Châtillon, and la Nouë," ſays le Grain, book v. "aſſaulted the ſuburbs of St. Germain, Buſſy, and Neſſe, which "were richer and more magnificent than the others, and where they "expected to find moſt reſiſtance, as well upon account of the fine "houſes that were in the ſuburb St. Germain, which makes its va-"lue equal to the ſecond city in France, as the abbey St. Germain, "which was fortified. Châtillon made it appear that he remembered "St. Bartholomew's day, and was reſolved to expiate the murder, "and appeaſe the manes of the admiral his father.

‡ In Beauce.

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in a ſhort time took a great many little towns in Touraine ‖, Anjou, Maine, and Lower Normandy. He left ſome troops with the marechal de Biron, who took Evreux without cannon. I drove the catholics from Anfreville. The king gave me all the countries about Mante and Roſny to preſerve, with a ſmall body of troops, with which I narrowly miſſed ſeizing the duke d'Aumale, as he paſſed by Roſny. Afterwards I joined the marechal Biron, at the ſiege of Evreux. I cannot give a more circumſtantial account of actions of little importance, and muſt even ſuppreſs the greateſt part of them, as it is neither poſſible, nor neceſſary, to relate at length facts in themſelves ſo inconſiderable.

I FOREWARN the public therefore to expect in theſe Memoirs a detail only of important events; ſuch as I have been a witneſs to, or what regards the king himſelf; and if I ſhould add any others, they will be thoſe, the truth of which I can warrant from the authenticity of thoſe memoirs which have fallen into my hands. As for the reſt it will be ſufficient juſt to point them out, that the reader may from thence form an idea of the condition, and affairs of Henry the Great, in different periods of time. It was to relieve my memory, that I at firſt committed ſuch particulars as moſt ſtruck me, to paper; eſpecially thoſe converſations I had with the king, or he with others, either upon war or politics, which I apprehended might be of great uſe to me. This prince, who perceived it by my ſometimes repeating exactly what had fallen from him on theſe ſubjects, commanded me to put my work in ſome order, and to enlarge it. I found ſome difficulty in obeying him, for my ſtyle was none of the beſt; and I

‖ Alençon, le Mans, Château-Briant, Sablé, Château-Gontier, Maïenne, Laval, Argentan, Falaiſe, Liſieux, Baïeux, Ponteau de Mer, Pont l'Evêque, Honfleur, Havre-de-Grace, Donfront, &c. De Thou, book xcvii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. chap 4, &c. See alſo the Memoirs of the league, and particular accounts of theſe expeditions printed at that time.

would

would gladly have been excuſed, but upon repeated commands from his majeſty, and his promiſe to correct it with his own hand, I reſumed and continued this work with more aſſiduity. Such was the riſe of theſe Memoirs. But to return to my ſubject.

THE army of the league ſitting down before Pontoiſé, took it, and afterwards laid ſiege to Meulan. As I looked upon this place to be of great importance to the king, I endeavoured by all the methods I could think of, to ſupply it with powder†, and to introduce ſome perſon into it on whom I could depend, to prevail upon the beſieged to hold out till aſſiſtance, which was very near, arrived. And this I performed by making a man ſwim over to it; and in the mean time ſent to inform the king of what had paſſed, and to demand the ſupplies. My repeated inſtances determined this prince to come thither himſelf; but it was with great unwillingneſs that he left other places where his preſence was no leſs neceſſary. "Your importunity brings me to "the aſſiſtance of Meulan." Thus he wrote to me. "If any thing unfortunate ſhould happen, I ſhall "never ceaſe to reproach you." It would indeed have appeared very ſurprizing to me, if no misfortune had happened; for this prince leaving all his infantry before Honfleur, brought with him ſo ſmall a number, that it was impoſſible for him to ſuſtain the attack of a whole army which then preſt Meulan, and would not fail to fall upon him as ſoon as it was known how ill he was attended.

THIS I took the liberty to repreſent to him; and, in effect, he had no ſooner left Verneuil to proceed to Ivry, than going out to reconnoitre, I ſaw the whole army of the league, which was no doubt informed of his march, making directly towards him, which obliged him to turn back to Verneuil.

† The duke of Sully is mentioned with diſtinction, in the relation of this ſiege, by De Thou, book xcviii. and father Matthieu, vol. II. p. 22.

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It was not uſual for this prince to give ground before his enemies, nor did he now without great regret. In the firſt tranſports of his rage, he reproached me as the cauſe of his ſuffering this affront, and with being leſs ſolicitous for his reputation, by calling him thither, than careful to preſerve my lands from pillage. It was not difficult for me to juſtify myſelf; and this prince, who comprehended the importance of ſuch a place as Meulan, gave orders for all his army to join him.

THIS produced the effect which I had promiſed myſelf. The enemies ſeeing the army on its march, drew their cannon on this ſide the river, and without wholly raiſing the ſiege, abandoned the care of it, to guard againſt ſurprizes.

I SENT the king advice of this proceeding, and he thought it neceſſary to haſten his march, to prevent any accident which might occaſion the loſs of Meulan, and ſent me the ſcouts of his army, that while I waited for his arrival, I might be able to give the beſiegers ſome trouble. He came ſoon after, and entered the fort, where being deſirous of obſerving the enemy's army*, he climbed up, with ſome of us, into the belfrey. The beſiegers that moment directing a battery againſt this belfrey, demoliſhed the ſtaircaſe, and obliged the king, and all of us that were with him, to come down with the help of a cord, and a ſtick paſſed between our legs. The king, to pay them in the ſame coin, ordered four pieces of cannon to be raiſed in this place: which was contrary to my opinion; for I foreſaw that the enemies would quickly diſmount them, which really happened before we could derive the leaſt advantage from them, and the beſiegers fired there ſo furiouſly all day, that we were not able to remove theſe four pieces till night. The enemies, who took care to have the river between them and the king, made a

* "As Henry IV. was aſcending the belfry of St. Nicaiſe, a cannon ball paſſed through his legs." Matthieu, ibid. 24.

terrible

terrible attack on the bridge on that ſide; but this was their laſt effort. The king poſting himſelf at Orgreux, they were afraid of being overcome, and ſuddenly decamped.

THE marquis of Alegre † had better ſucceſs, and ſeized Rouen for the league. I received the news of it at Roſny. The king, whoſe whole attention it had been to hinder the reduction of this place, marched inſtantly to Rouen; but upon his arrival at Gaillon, he learnt that the misfortune was without remedy. In revenge he went to beſiege Dreux, after putting me in garriſon in Paſſy. The duke of Maïenne, who had juſt been reinforced with the whole Spaniſh army, paſſed the river, and ſpread his troops all round Mante and Roſny, with a reſolution to raiſe this ſiege. The vanguard of this army, which was conducted by one of my relations, named Roſny, had orders from the general to poſſeſs himſelf of Paſſy in his way. I gave the king notice of his approach, who replied only, that I might do as I pleaſed. I reſolved, therefore, to defend myſelf; and although monſieur de Roſny wrote to me, repreſenting to me, that it would be raſhneſs to ſuffer myſelf to be ſtormed in a place that had not even walls, and offered me very advantageous conditions ‡, yet he could gain nothing upon me.

I THANKED him for his falſe complaiſance, and, in the night, cauſed a ditch to be dug, which might

† Chriſtopher d'Alegre, governor of Giſors.

‡ Father Matthieu mentions this fact exactly in the ſame manner as it is here; he even relates the duke of Sully's reply, in the very words he made uſe of. "Here is the king ready to give battle; tell "the duke of Maïenne, that he is now reckoning upon winning it; "and then I will conſider whether I am to loſe it."

The only difference between them is, that this officer of the enemy's, who is here called Roſny, and, a relation of the baron de Roſny, was, according to Matthieu, the baron de Roſne, one of the general officers of the league: however, to thoſe who read the Memoirs of Sully, it would ſeem impoſſible for the error to be on his ſide. Compare the two writers, *Oeconomics Royales*, &c. vol. I. p. 71. and and Matthieu's hiſtory, vol. II. book i. p. 25.

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in ſome degree ſerve the garriſon for a ſhelter. Luckily the enemy had no deſign to waſte time in ſo inconſiderable a ſiege, and wanted only to ſeize the place. As they paſſed next morning, the noiſe of the baggage gave me to underſtand, that the army had purſued its rout, which drew me out of great perplexity. During the night, which I ſpent entirely in fortifying Paſſy, I thought I ſaw diſtinctly two armies fighting in the air‖. I know not whether this object was real, or only an illuſion, but it made ſuch an impreſſion on my mind, that I was not ſurprized at reading a letter next day from the king, wherein he informed me, that the duke of Maïenne's army, joined to the Spaniards, had approached with a deſign to offer him battle; that he had waited for it till the evening of that day on which he wrote to me, but that the whole day had been paſſed in ſkirmiſhing, making lodgments, and ſecuring advantages, and that the general action was put off till the next. His letter concluded with theſe words, "I conjure you then to come, and "bring with you as many of the forces as you can, "particularly your own company, and the two "companies of Badid and James's horſe-arquebu-"ſiers; for I know them, and am reſolved to make "uſe of them upon this occaſion."

I WAS ſenſible that, without extraordinary diſpatch, I ſhould arrive too late for the battle with theſe companies, which I foreſaw the king would be in great need of, as he was much inferior in numbers to the enemy. I therefore loſt not a mo-

‖ Davila, who alſo takes notice of this phenomenon, book xi. deſcribes it in this manner: "The thunder and lightening, ſome-"times mingled with horrid darkneſs, added to their terrors; and "ſuch a flood of rain poured ſuddenly down, that the whole army "was alarmed. A prodigious apparition, which appeared in the ſky "as ſoon as it had ceaſed to rain, increaſed the general diſmay; for "during the noiſe of the thunder, at which the boldeſt among them "trembled, two great armies were diſtinctly ſeen in the air, that "after continuing ſome time engaged in fight, diſappeared, covered "with a thick cloud; ſo that the event of the battle was not ſeen."

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ment, and was fortunate enough to arrive an hour and a half before the battle began. The king ordered me to make my company paſs to the right wing, where his own ſquadron was, to which he joined it; and making the two companies of arquebuſiers diſmount, ſent their horſes among the baggage, deſigning to make uſe of them as the forlorn hope. After this, he bid me follow him to view the diſpoſition of the two armies, "in order, added "he, that you may learn your trade." He had no ſooner placed himſelf at the head of his ſquadron §, than the trumpets ſounded the charge.

I SHALL not here encroach upon the hiſtorian's right; I leave it to them to relate all the particulars of this battle, and ſhall confine myſelf only to what I was an eye-witneſs of. It is ſufficient to ſay that, upon this occaſion, what gave the victory to the weaker party, was the valour of the marechal d'Aumont, who prevented the entire defeat of the light horſe, as alſo the great difference between the enemy's manner of uſing their artillery, and ours; and above all, the uncommon abilities of the king, which were never ſo perfectly known as in the day of battle, in the diſpoſition of his troops, rallying them, their diſcipline, and their exact and ready obedience.

IT is certain the duke of Maïenne, and the count of Egmont, who were at the head of the Spaniards,

§ "My companions," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to his ſquadron, "if to-day you run my fortune, I alſo run yours. I am reſolved to "die, or conquer with you; keep your ranks, I beſeech you, and if "you ſhould quit them in the heat of the battle, rally immediately; "which will be gaining the victory: you will do it between thoſe "three trees which you ſee up there on the right: and, if you ſhould "loſe ſight of your ſtandard and colours, keep my white plume of "feathers always in view; there you will find the road to victory and "glory." Perefixe ibid. 2d part. "They loſt ſight of him in the "battle, where, accompanied only by twelve or thirteen perſons, he "was ſurrounded by the enemy. He killed the count of Egmont's "equery with his own hand. We muſt uſe our piſtols, ſaid he to "his troops; the more men the more glory." Matthieu, vol. II. book i. p. 26, &c.

imagined

imagined that if the king ventured to wait for them, the victory would be theirs; and that, if he yielded, or gave ground before them, as they expected, they depended upon nothing leſs than forcing him out of whatever place he ſhould retreat to; and thus finiſh the war by a ſingle blow. With ſuch diſpoſitions, what muſt be the conſequence? I ſay nothing of the generals, who alone are worth many thouſand men. The ſtronger party never makes uſe of thoſe precautions that are neceſſary againſt an enemy of equal ſtrength; and the weaker never forms a reſolution to defend itſelf againſt a more numerous army, without determining likewiſe to ſupply, by valour and addreſs, the deficiency of numbers. Danger, which inſpires a courage animated by glory and difficulties, reduces both ſides to a kind of equality.

THE king's ſquadron *, where I was, had the attacks of the count of Egmont to ſuſtain, who fell upon us with his own ſquadron, and another of a

* See upon this action de Thou, book xcviii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. ch. 3. Le Grain, book v. The Memoirs of the league. Father Matthieu, idem. The Chron. Novenn. of Cayet, vol. II. fol. 327. and an account printed in 1590, and others.

De Thou and Cayet obſerve, that Henry the IVth's artillery had fired nine times before the duke of Maïenne's began; they alſo blame the duke for having diſpoſed his army in the form of a creſcent, like Henry's, when, being ſuperior in number, he ought to have given it the form of a triangle. According to Matthieu, Henry IV. was guilty of a great fault, in not beginning the battle, by falling upon the light horſe commanded by du Terrail, and upon the duke of Maïenne's body, who, having advanced too far, was obliged to go half a league about in retreating. It appears, that the cavalry only fought there; and, if we believe le Grain, twelve hundred horſe defeated an army of twenty thouſand men. But here is a little exaggeration. The king's army was compoſed of about two thouſand cavalry, and ſix or ſeven thouſand infantry; and the league's conſiſted of five thouſand horſe, and eight thouſand foot. The count of Egmont, who had boaſted that his ſquadron alone was ſufficient to ſubdue the royal army, was ſlain in the fight. He was the ſon of l'Amoral d'Egmont, who was beheaded at Bruſſels with the count of Horne. It is ſaid, that when he came to Paris, the perſon who complimented him, mixed in his diſcourſe ſome praiſes of l'Amoral his father, "Do not mention him," he replied; "he was a rebel, and deſerved "to die."

thouſand, or twelve hundred German horſe. It is true, the Germans, who profeſt the ſame religion as our ſoldiers did, fired their pieces into the air. But the count of Egmont behaved like a man who was reſolved to conquer. He charged us with ſuch fury, that notwithſtanding the deſertion of the Germans, after a terrible fire, and an encounter which laſted a full quarter of an hour, the ea th was covered with dead bodies. Our ſquadron fled on the left, and on the right they were broke and gave ground. At the firſt onſet, my horſe was wounded in the noſtrils, and in the neck at a ſecond, where the ſaddle did not reach, and a third quite overpowered him, and carried away two of his feet, and a piece of fleſh off the calf of my leg. I received another wound in my hand. A piſtol-ſhot gave me a third more conſiderable; the ball entered my hip, and came out near my belly. I ſhould certainly have been killed, if my equery had not flown to my aſſiſtance with another horſe, upon which I mounted, though with great difficulty. This inſtance of affection drew a great many wounds upon poor Maignan, and had like to have coſt him his life.

At a ſecond charge, this horſe was likewiſe ſlain, and in the ſame moment I received a piſtol-ſhot in the thigh, and a cut with a ſword on the head. I fell to the earth, and with my ſenſes loſt all the remaining part of the action, which from the advantage the count of Egmont had already gained, boded no good to us. All I know is, that a long time after, recovering my ſenſes, I ſaw neither enemies, nor any of my domeſtics, near me, whom terror, and the diſorder, had diſperſed; another preſage which appeared to me no leſs unfavourable.

I RETIRED without a head-piece, and almoſt without armour, for in the battle mine had been battered to pieces. In this condition I ſaw a trooper of the enemy's running towards me, with an intention to take away my life. By good fortune I found

found myſelf near a pear-tree, to which I crept, and with that little motion I was ſtill able to exert, made ſuch good uſe of the branches, which were extremely low, that I evaded all my adverſary's attempts, and kept him at a diſtance, who being weary with turning round the tree, at laſt quitted me. Feuquieres had not the like good fortune; he was killed that moment before my eyes. Juſt then la Rocheforêt (who has ſince been with me) paſſing by, I aſked him for a little nag which he was leading, and paid him for it upon the ſpot thirty crowns. It was always my opinion, that on ſuch occaſions, it is proper to carry a little money about one.

THUS mounted, I was going to learn news of the battle, when I ſaw ſeven of the enemy approach, one of whom carried the white ſtandard belonging to the duke of Maïenne's company. I thought it impoſſible to eſcape this new danger, and upon their crying, "*Qui vive?*" I told my name, as being ready to ſurrender myſelf a priſoner. But how was I aſtoniſhed, when inſtead of attacking me, I found four of theſe perſons intreating me to receive them for priſoners, and to ſave their lives; and while they ranged themſelves about me, appear rejoiced at this meeting! I granted their requeſt: and it ſeemed ſo ſurprizing to me, that four men unhurt, and well armed, ſhould ſurrender themſelves to a ſingle man, diſarmed, covered with his own blood, mounted upon a little paltry nag, and ſcarce able to ſupport himſelf, that I was tempted to take all I ſaw for an illuſion. But I was ſoon convinced of the truth of it. My priſoners (ſince they would be ſo) made themſelves known for monſieurs de Châtaigneraie †, de Sigogne, de Chanteloup, and d'Aufreville.

† John de Vivonne, lord of Châtaignaire. Charles de Beauſoncle, lord of Sigogne, cornet of the duke of Maïenne's company. The hiſtorians take notice of the priſoners monſieur de Roſny took in this encounter, and the wounds he received to the number of ſeven. It was for ſome time believed, that Henry IV. was ſlain. What gave riſe to this falſe report was the marquis of Neſle, who was that day

They told me, that the duke of Maïenne had loſt the battle; that the king was that inſtant in purſuit of the vanquiſhed, which had obliged them to ſurrender for fear of falling into worſe hands, their horſes not being in a condition to carry them out of danger; at the ſame time Sigogne, in token of ſurrender, preſented me with the white ſtandard. The three others, who were the duke of † Nemours, the chevalier d'Aumale, and Tremont, not ſeeming inclined to ſurrender, I endeavoured to perſuade them to do ſo, but in vain. After recommending their companions to me, ſeeing a body of the victors advance, they rode away, and ſhewed me that their horſes were ſtill vigorous enough to bear them from their enemies.

I ADVANCED with my priſoners towards a battalion of Swiſs, and meeting one of the king's chief pages, I gave him the ſtandard to carry, it being too weighty a burthen for me. I then ſaw more plainly the marks of our victory. The field was full of the fugitive leaguers and Spaniards, and the victorious army ‡ of the king purſuing and ſcattering the reſt of the larger bodies, had diſperſed, and were again drawing together. The Swiſs ſoldiers of the two armies, meeting, bullied each other with their pikes

day dreſt like the king, being ſeen ſurrounded by the enemy, and wounded in ſeveral places, of which he died. Matthieu, ibid.

† Charles of Savoy duke of Nemours.

‡ "The king cried, Spare the French, and fall upon the foreigners." Perefixe, ibid. part 2d. "Henry," ſays the author of the Henriade, "owed this victory to the ſuperiority of his ſkill and valour. But he confeſſed that Maïenne had performed all the duties "of a great general; he had no fault," ſaid he, "but in the cauſe "he ſupported." The duke of Maïenne would have been taker, but for his precaution in breaking the bridge of Ivry as he fled. But by that means he expoſed the German horſe and foot to be ſlaughtered there, twelve hundred of which were killed upon the ſpot; a like number of French infantry, and a thouſand horſe. Some have made the loſs much greater. Of the royaliſts, five hundred private men, and about twenty gentlemen were killed. This battle was fought between Dreux and Nonancourt, at the village of St. André and Foucrainville.

lowered,

lowered, without ſtriking a blow, or making any other motion.

THE white ſtandard embroidered with black flowers-de-luce, was known by every one to be that of the Guiſes, which they bore in memory, and through horror, of the aſſaſſination of Blois, and drew great numbers to it, as to a prey equally rich and honourable. The black velvet coats of my priſoners, which were covered with ſilver croſſes, glittered from afar in the field. The firſt who flew to ſeize them, were meſſieurs de Cambrai, de l'Archant, du Rollet, de Crevecœur, de Palcheux, and de Braſſeuſe, who were joined by the count de Torigny. I advanced towards them, and ſuppoſing they would not know my face, diſfigured by blood and duſt, I named myſelf. The count de Torigny no ſooner knew la Châtaigneraie, who was his relation, than judging that, in the condition he ſaw me, I ſhould not be able to preſerve my priſoners from inſult, he intreated me to give Châtaigneraie to his care, for whom he would be anſwerable. I readily granted his requeſt, yet it was with regret that I ſaw him go away. What Torigny did through a principle of friendſhip, had a fatal conſequence for the unhappy Châtaigneraie. Some moments after he was known by three men belonging to d'O's company, who had been guard to Henry III. Theſe men levelling their pieces at him, ſhot him dead, crying, "'Sdeath! thou traitor to thy king, whom "thou haſt murdered, and triumphed in the deed."

I MIGHT have made the count of Torigny pay this priſoner's ranſom, and I was adviſed by ſeveral perſons to do ſo; but I could not reſolve to add this new cauſe of affliction to what he already felt for the death of a man, with whom I had myſelf been well acquainted.

I SOON ſaw myſelf ſurrounded by many perſons, amongſt whom there was not one that did not envy

my good fortune. D'Andelot § came after the reſt, and paſſing through the croud, perceived Sigogne, and the page who carried the ſtandard. He was preparing to ſeize it, believing his good fortune had preſerved this prize for him, when a report that the enemies had rallied, obliged him to go away abruptly. I had not time to draw him out of his error; for after he had bid the page keep that ſtandard for him, he ſuddenly diſappeared. The news was found to be falſe, and had no other foundation than the arrival of two hundred ſoldiers from Picardy, which meſſieurs de Mouy * and de la Boiſſiere had brought to the duke of Maïenne.

Being now diſengaged from the croud, and finding myſelf in need of help, eſpecially for the wound in my hip, by which I loſt a great deal of blood, I advanced with my prize to the head of ‡ Vignoles' regiment, which had behaved bravely in the battle. Here fearing no further ſurprize, I aſked for a ſurgeon to bind up my wound, and deſired ſome wine to prevent fainting, which I found coming upon me. My ſtrength being a little renewed, I got to Anet, the keeper of which gave me an apartment, where I cauſed the firſt dreſſing to be put on my wounds in the preſence of the marechal Biron, who ſpent a few moments there after my arrival, and took ſome refreſhment in my chamber. He was conducting the corps de reſerve, which he commanded, to the king, who, without ſtopping after his victory, had paſſed the river of Eure, in purſuit of the enemies; and, as I was told, took at laſt the road to Roſny, where he lay the ſame night †.

§ Charles de Coligny, marquis d'Andelot, one of the admiral de Coligny's ſons.

* Charles d'Humieres. The vol. of manuſcripts in the king's library, 8930, is filled with his great actions. Charles, marquis de Mouy, or Moy. Chriſtopher de Lanoy de Boiſſiére, governor of Corbie. ‡ Bertrand de Vignoles.

† "That night he ſupped at the caſtle of Roſny. Being informed "that the marechal d'Aumont was come to give him an account of "what

AFTER the marechal Biron was gone, d'Andelot arrived at Anet full of reſentment againſt me for taking away his prize; for ſo he thought it. He entered my chamber, attended by five or ſix armed men, and with an air equally fierce and inſulting, demanded an explanation, or rather ſought to do himſelf juſtice; for perceiving the white ſtandard, which, with that belonging to my company, had been placed at the head of my bed, he would have taken poſſeſſion of it by force, without attending to what I ſaid. I changed my tone immediately, and high words paſſed between us. In the condition wherein I was, I could do no more. But he ſpeaking with fury, and making uſe of threats, the noiſe drew fifteen or twenty of my troopers into the chamber, at the ſight of whom d'Andelot reſtraining his rage, went out, commanding Sigogne to follow him, which he refuſed, and endeavoured, but in

" what he had done, he roſe up to meet him, and embracing him " affectionately, made him ſit down at his table, with theſe obliging words, that it was but juſt, that he who had ſerved him ſo " well at his nuptials, ſhould ſhare the feaſt." Perefixe ibid. 2d part.

Monſieur de Perefixe, in the ſame place, relates another circumſtance, which does honour to the king. " He remembered that, " the evening before the battle, he uſed ſome harſh expreſſions " to colonel Theodoric Schomberg, who had aſked him for money, " and told him in a paſſion, that it was not acting like a man of " honour to demand money, when he came to take orders for fighting. " He afterwards went to him, when he was ranging his troops in " order, and ſaid, Colonel, we are now upon the point; perhaps I " ſhall never go from this place, it is not juſt that I ſhould deprive " a brave gentlemen as you are of your honour; I come therefore to " declare, that I know you to be an honeſt man, and incapable of " committing a baſe action. Saying this, he embraced him with " great affection. The colonel, ſenſibly moved with this behaviour, " replied, with tears in his eyes, Ah! Sire, in reſtoring to me my " honour, you take away my life; for after this I ſhould be unworthy of your favour, if I did not ſacrifice it to-day for your ſervice. " If I had a thouſand lives, I would lay them all at your feet. In " fact, he was killed upon this occaſion." Ibid.

The marechal Biron, who at the head of the corps de reſerve, had greatly contributed towards this victory, ſaid to Henry IV. " Sire, you " have performed what Biron ſhould, and Biron has done that which " the king ought to have done."

vain, to make him comprehend the injuſtice of his pretenſions.

The next morning I cauſed myſelf to be carried by water to Paſſy, with an intention to go to Roſny, to finiſh my cure. On my arrival, I learned that part of the ſoldiers in my train, and my valets, with all my baggage, had retired thither, not knowing what was become of me, and intimidated by a report which was ſpread, that the king had loſt the battle. Being apprehenſive of the reproaches I might make them, they kept themſelves concealed. I cauſed them to be ſought for, but they were ſo much aſhamed of their cowardice, that the following night they fled away on foot; nor have I ſince been ever able to get any intelligence of them. They left all my baggage behind them, with four of their own horſes, which I ordered to be ſold, and diſtributed the money amongſt their wounded companions.

As I was not in a condition to mount a horſe, I ordered a kind of litter, compoſed of the branches of trees, with the bark ſtill on, and the hoops of ſome veſſels, to be made for me in haſte, and travelled by Beurons, to avoid the aſſents and declivities of Rougevoie, and Châtillon.

Maignan, who was a youth of a lively imagination, thought proper to give this march the air of a little triumph. Two of the grooms of my ſtable were at the head of this train, each leading one of my fineſt horſes; they were followed by my pages, one of whom rode on my horſe, the ſame who having received three wounds in the battle, and being thrown to the ground by a fourth, got up again without a ſaddle, and running about the field, was fortunately known by three of my arquebuſiers. This page carried my cuiraſs, and the duke of Maïenne's ſtandard; the other bore my bracelets, and my helmet, ſo bruiſed, that it was no longer of any uſe. My equery, the contriver of this diverting ſcene, marched next, with his head bound up, and his arm

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in a ſcarf: he was followed by Moreines, my valet de chambre, dreſt in my coat of orange-coloured velvet, with thin plates of ſilver, and mounted upon my Engliſh nag, holding in his hand, as a trophy, a bundle of the ſhivers of my piſtols, the broken pieces of my ſwords, and the tattered remains of my plume of feathers. The litter in which I lay came next, covered only with a cloth, upon which they had hung the black velvet coats of my priſoners, with their plumes, and pieces of their piſtols and ſwords at the four corners. The priſoners themſelves followed my litter, and preceded the reſt of my domeſtics; after whom, ranged in order, came my own company of ſoldiers, and the march was cloſed with James's and Badet's two companies of arquebuſiers. They had ſuffered ſo much in the battle, that there was not one of them who had not his head bound up, and his arm in a ſcarf, and ſome of theſe brave ſoldiers were even obliged to be carried by their companions.

When we came near Beurons, we perceived all the plain covered with horſes and dogs; and the king himſelf, who, after a ſlight repaſt, had returned from Roſny to Mante, and was hunting there in my warren. This ſhew ſeemed to pleaſe him; he thought it very happily diſpoſed, and ſmiled at the vanity of Maignan, who had the honour of being known to this prince, ever ſince his father, who was a very brave man, had made himſelf remarkable at the taking of Eauſe. The king approached my litter, and in the ſight of his whole train, diſdained not to give me ſuch proofs of tenderneſs and concern, as (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) one friend would do to another. I could not expreſs my gratitude by throwing myſelf at his feet, but I aſſured him, and with truth, that I would gladly ſuffer a thouſand times more for his ſervice. He required, with an obliging ſolicitude, whether all my wounds were of ſuch a nature, that I might hope to

be cured without mutilating any part of my body, which he thought almoſt impoſſible, knowing that I had been thrown down ſenſeleſs, and trampled under the horſes feet. When he was convinced that I had nothing to fear, he caſt himſelf upon my neck, and turning to the princes and noblemen who followed him, he ſaid aloud, that he honoured me with the title of a true and honeſt knight, a title which he ſaid, he thought ſuperior to that of a knight-companion of his orders. Being apprehenſive that I ſhould hurt myſelf by ſpeaking too much, he put an end to this agreeable converſation with his uſual proteſtation, that I ſhould ſhare in whatever good fortune heaven ſhould ſend him; and, leaving me, ſaid, "Farewel, my friend, take care of yourſelf, and, "depend upon it, you have a good maſter." There are princes who are capable of gratitude, but this quality is ſeldom increaſed, or even kept, in ſucceſs.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

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BOOK IV.

THE ſame day that the king gained the battle of Ivry, his party alſo prevailed in Auvergne*, where Randan commanded the troops of the league; but fortune, as it ſhould ſeem, when ſhe gave this prince ſucceſs ſufficient to put him in poſſeſſion of ſeveral crowns, took pleaſure, at the ſame time, in producing circumſtances which hindered the effect, and left him no other fruit of his victories than the ſole glory of having conquered. After the battle of Ivry, terror and conſternation ſeized the whole party of the league, ſo that it ſeemed hardly poſſible for the king, who was now reſolved to let ſlip none of his advantages, to have failed of drawing very great

* At Iſſoire. See an account of it in Cayet, ibid. 329. De Thou, &c. John Lewis de la Rochefoucault, count of Randan.

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ones from the preſent poſture of his affairs. Nor did he expect to have ſeen them raviſhed from him by a general mutiny in his army, particularly of the Swiſs, who refuſed to advance a ſtep farther, till they were paid thoſe ſums the king owed them.

THIS prince had then neither money nor means in readineſs to recover any. He came to Mante, to demand ſome of the ſuperintendant of the finances. This man, who ſecretly hated the king, and beheld his ſucceſs with grief, took pleaſure in adding to his perplexities, and had but one anſwer to make to all his ſolicitations. In this time of confuſion, when the royal treaſure became a prey to the firſt poſſeſſor, the finances were very difficult to manage, and the king's revenues ſcarce ſufficient to ſatisfy the avarice of the receivers, which generally increaſed with public miſery. Henry wanted that abſolute authority, which alone was able to check them, and ſtill more the means of convicting them of any miſdemeanor; for he had not the ſlighteſt knowledge of the affairs of the finances. Notwithſtanding this, he entered into a detail which became neceſſary for him, and obliged * d'O to deliver up certain ſums, which it was not difficult to ſee had paſſed through his hands. Theſe ſums he made uſe of to pacify his ſoldiers; but this affair took up at leaſt five days, during which the king could not leave Mante, and conſequently derive no advantage from his victory. I remember to have heard this prince declare, that he now, for the firſt time in his whole life, ſaw himſelf in a ſituation to convert his deſires into deſigns: "for I "have often had deſires, ſaid he, but never found a "fit opportunity to form deſigns." He gave the ſame ſignification to this laſt term that all wiſe men do; a ſcheme, the ſucceſs of which is ſecured by reflec-

* Francis d'O, lord d'O, de Maillebois, and de Freſne, maſter of the wardrobe to Henry III. firſt gentleman of the chamber, ſuperintendant of the finances, governor of Paris, and iſle of France. He will be mentioned hereafter.

tion and prudence; and it is in this ſenſe which every one wiſhes to take what ſeems right in his own opinion, without prejudice to any other perſon; but it is fools only who raſhly engage in deſigns, without any appearance of ſucceeding in them.

During his ſtay at Mante, d'Antelot went to him to complain of me, and this prince gave himſelf the trouble to come to Roſny, that he might hear us both. D'Andelot was there generally condemned, and the raillery his ridiculous claim drew upon him from the principal officers, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that he went over to the party of the league. I did not think the ſame juſtice was done to me with regard to the government of Mante, the taking of which was almoſt the only conſequence of the battle of Ivry. The king, of whom I requeſted this poſt, beſtowed it on a catholic †, at which I made loud complaints. I confeſs, to my confuſion, that if I had ſeriouſly conſidered the ſituation the king was then in, every moment upon the point of being abandoned by the foreigners for want of payment, and thoſe catholics that were in his ſervice, ready to ſeize the ſlighteſt occaſion of diſguſt for a pretence to quit him, I ſhould not have murmured, that he granted to a catholic, who had but little affection to his perſon, what he refuſed to a faithful ſervant. There was more greatneſs of mind in being ſatisfied with the friendſhip of this prince, independent of its effects, than in receiving favours, which were determined by policy, and the neceſſity of the time.

All obſtacles being removed, the king advanced with his troops, took Dreux, and marched towards Sens, which he expected to have ſurrendered through the correſpondence he held within the city; but this failed, and Henry, unwilling to come ſo far in vain, and being beſides informed that the place was deſti-

† This government was given to monſieur de Roſny's youngeſt brother.

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tute of ammunition, he undertook the ſiege of it. It was not long before he found himſelf, through the malice of his ſecret enemies, in a general want of all things neceſſary to finiſh this enterprize, and was therefore obliged to abandon it. To efface the ſhame, he gave out, that he raiſed this ſiege, in order to go and inveſt Paris itſelf, and he took his rout thither by Corbeil, Meulan, Lagny, and St. Denis‡, which he ſeized in his way.

I WAS not at any of theſe ſieges; and my wounds were not yet half cured, when I learnt that the king had inveſted Paris; and not able to reſiſt the deſire I had to be preſent at this expedition, I ſet out, with my arm however in a ſcarf, and ſupported by two crutches. The king, forgetting all my complaints, received me with his uſual goodneſs, and commanded me to ſtay near his perſon. He communicated to me the deſign he had formed upon Paris, which he was reſolved at the ſame time to carry into execution over all the ſuburbs; in order to deprive the city of the ſubſiſtence it drew from them, ſuch as fruit, vegetables, &c. He divided his army into ten little bodies, to equal the number of the ſuburbs he deſigned to ſtorm; and having made choice of the night for the execution of his ſcheme, he withdrew to the mountain of Montmarte, that he might ſend ſupplies where ever there was occaſion for them. He placed himſelf in an abbey, where he was not only followed by the wounded, who could have no ſhare in the glory of that night, but by all the aged, and the gentlemen of the robe and pen. He made me ſtay with him at a window, from whence he viewed the action; during which, he converſed with Du-Pleſſis, Ruſé, de Freſne, Alibour*, and I.

‡ Cities of the iſle of France.

* Du-Pleſſis-Mornay; Martin Ruſé, lord of Beaulieu; and Peter Forget, lord of Freſne; his Majeſty's ſecretaries: Alibour his phyſician.

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THE attack began at midnight, with a frightful noiſe of the artillery, which was anſwered by that of the city. There was not one perſon, who did not think that this immenſe city would be deſtroyed, either by the fire of the artillery, or the mines kindled in its bowels: never was there a ſpectacle more capable of inſpiring horror. Thick clouds of ſmoke, through which darted by intervals ſparks of fire, or long trains of flames, covered all that ſpace of earth, which, by the viciſſitude of light and darkneſs, ſeemed now plunged in thick ſhades of night, and now ſwallowed up in a ſea of fire. The thunder of the artillery, the claſhing of arms, and the cries of the combatants, added to this object all that can be imagined terrible, which was ſtill increaſed by the natural horror of night. This ſcene continued two whole hours, and was cloſed with the reduction of all the ſuburbs, not excepting that of St. Antoine; although by its great extent we were obliged to begin the attack at a conſiderable diſtance. They blocked up the city-gates, ſo that nothing could enter without the permiſſion of thoſe who guarded them; and the people immediately ſaw themſelves reduced to an exceſs of miſery and famine, which I cannot yet think of without horror.

I MUST be permitted to paſs ſlightly over this part; I cannot, with any pleaſure, enlarge upon ſo dreadful a ſubject. The king, naturally compaſſionate, was moved with the diſtreſs of the Pariſians: he could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing this city, the empire of which was deſtined for him by Providence, become one vaſt church-yard. He ſecretly permitted every thing that could contribute to its relief, and affected not to obſerve the ſupplies of proviſions which the officers and ſoldiers ſuffered to enter the city, either out of compaſſion to their relations and friends who were in it, or with a deſign to make the citizens purchaſe them at a high price. Without doubt, he imagined this conduct would gain him

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the hearts of the Pariſians; but he was deceived, they enjoyed his benefits without ceaſing to look upon him as the author of their miſeries, and, elated with the prince of Parma's arrival, they inſulted him, who only raiſed the ſiege becauſe he was too much affected with the miſeries of the beſieged *.

* Perefixe, Cayet, and many others are alſo of opinion, that the king was withheld from taking Paris by ſtorm, and from yielding to the repeated intreaties of his ſoldiers, particularly the huguenots, by his having perceived, that on this occaſion they were reſolved to revenge the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, by putting all within Paris to the ſword. "The duke of Nemours, ſays Perefixe, ſent all uſeleſs mouths out of Paris: the king's council oppoſed his granting them a paſſage; but the king, being informed of the dreadful ſcarcity to which theſe miſerable wretches were reduced, ordered that they ſhould be allowed to paſs. I am not ſurprized, ſaid he, that the Spaniards, and the chiefs of the league, have no compaſſion upon theſe poor people, they are only tyrants; as for me, I am their father and their king, and cannot hear the recital of their calamities, without being pierced to my inmoſt ſoul, and ardently deſiring to bring them relief." Perefixe, part 2d. The cardinal de Gondy, biſhop of Paris, having been ſent, during this ſiege, to make Henry propoſitions for peace: "I will not diſſemble, ſaid he, but diſcover my ſentiments to you freely. I am willing to grant you peace, I deſire it myſelf; I would give one finger to have a battle, and two to have a general peace: I love my city of Paris, I am jealous of her, I am deſirous of doing her ſervice, and would grant her more favours than ſhe demands of me; but I would grant them voluntarily, and not be compelled to it by the king of Spain or the duke of Maïenne." It may be added, that Henry IV. expected the Pariſians would capitulate before the prince of Parma's arrival, The extremity to which this city was reduced, raiſed at once compaſſion and horror: in the ſpace of a month, 30,000 perſons died of hunger: mothers fed upon the fleſh of their children: by the Spaniſh ambaſſador's advice, they dug up the dead bodies, and made uſe of their bones pounded, to compoſe a kind of paſte. This deteſtable food coſt the greateſt part of thoſe who eat of it their lives. See a relation of this in the hiſtorians, particularly in the ſecond volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of State, p. 358, &c. Read alſo the fine verſes of the Henriade upon this ſubject, canto the tenth. The Pariſians owed their ſafety chiefly to the duke of Nemours, whoſe gallant defence has been lightly praiſed by our writers. The people ſeconded him with an obſtinate eagerneſs, which had more of fury than true courage in it. A regiment of prieſts and monks were ſeen there, Capuchins, Foliетanis, Carthuſians, &c. groteſquely armed above their frocks. This aukward regiment being eager to ſalute the legate, killed his ſecretary at his ſide. The monks of St. Genevieve, St. Victor, the Benedictins, the Celeſtins, and ſome orders, would have no part in this military maſquerade. Cayet's Chron. Novenn. ibid 360.

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To juſtify an action, in itſelf as much blamed by the maſters in the art of war, as praiſed for its motive by hearts truly benevolent, the king cauſed it to be reported, that his deſign in raiſing the ſiege of Paris was to go and meet the prince of Parma †, and by a deciſive action, put an end to a war already too long. He made uſe of all the precautions neceſſary to ſecure a ſafe retreat from a city ſo populous as Paris, and commanded every one to hold themſelves in readineſs for a general ſignal; to the end that, all the ſuburbs being evacuated in a moment, no perſon might remain at the mercy of the populace. This retreat required great wiſdom and addreſs, and was happily effected on the firſt or ſecond of September in the ſame year; after which the whole army arrived at the common rendezvous, without meeting with any accident.

The king ‡ knowing that the prince of Parma was in the neighbourhood of Meaux, came and poſted himſelf between this city and Paris, and made his light horſe advance as far as Claye §; where the two camps being ſo contiguous, ſeveral ſmart encounters enſued. The king, upon the marechal Biron's repreſentations, preferred to this poſt that of Chelles ‖, and went thither contrary to his own opinion; for he looked upon Claye to be a more advantageous poſt, and at the ſame time fitter to ſhut up the road to Paris from the enemy's general; for he had ſtill views upon the city, and carried on a correſpondence within it, which if the prince of

† Alexander Farneſe, duke of Parma and Placentia, ſon to Octavio Farneſe, and margaret of Auſtria, natural daughter of Charles V. He married Mary of Portugal, by whom he had Ranuccio Farneſe, duke of Parma, and Odoard Farneſe, cardinal.

‡ De Thou ſays, that Henry IV. was obliged to pretend, that he only raiſed the ſiege of Paris in order to go and meet the prince of Parma, and to give him battle; for fear that his ſoldiers, whom the hopes of the plunder of Paris had only prevailed upon to ſtay with him, ſhould abandon him. Book xcix.

§ A town between Paris and Meaux. ‖ Ibid.

Parma

Parma had entered, would have failed him, and which it did notwithſtanding. The king then took poſſeſſion of a riſing-ground, which on one ſide preſented nothing to view but a deep valley and a moraſs, that took away all poſſibility of acting in that place. The prince of Parma perceiving this, encamped on a hill oppoſite to ours. It was neither his deſign nor his intereſt to hazard a battle, but to give us a check; his camp anſwered this purpoſe exactly, as he was there ſheltered from any attack, and out of the reach of the cannon. The king became ſenſible of the error, which too much complaiſance for the opinion of another had drawn him into; when, after remaining two or three days in this poſition, he ſaw Lagny* taken before his eyes, without having it in his power to prevent it†.

This event, joined to his raiſing the ſiege of Paris, mortified him extremely, becauſe he was ſenſible that it might be concluded from thence, that the enemy was ſuperior to him in judgment, which this prince conſidered as a matter of great importance in war. What gave him ſtill more uneaſineſs was, that none were more ready to believe, or even to ſpread theſe diſadvantageous reports, than the catholics of his own army. What reliance could he have on the aſſiſtance of perſons, by whom the diſobedience of

* A city of Brie upon the Marne.

† The duke of Sully is more candid than the greateſt part of the hiſtorians, who will not confeſs that Henry IV. committed any fault upon this occaſion. They cannot agree among themſelves, either about the raiſing the ſiege of Paris, or all theſe different encampments. Villeroy in his Memoirs mentions this circumſtance in the ſame manner as Sully does; and attributes to that one fault of preferring the poſt of Chelles to Claye, all the honour the prince of Parma gained by obliging the king to raiſe the ſiege of Paris, without coming to a battle; the taking of Lagny, &c. vol. I. p. 190. vol. II. p. 466. See likewiſe upon all theſe expeditions Matthieu, ibid, 53, &c. and other hiſtorians. The prince of Parma was deſirous of ſeeing Paris, and entered it incognito. "I am informed," ſaid he to the duke of Maïenne, "that the king of Navarre makes more uſe of boots than "ſhoes, and that to ruin him we muſt protract the time and employ "delays, rather than force." Cayet's Chron. Novenn. ibid. 390.

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his ſoldiers, and his want of money, were occaſioned? and he was convinced that this diſpoſition with regard to him was an incurable malady, which his good or his bad fortune equally increaſed. Such is the hatred that religion is the foundation of! and in the end, the king had a thouſand fatal proofs of it.

He now reſolved upon a very prudent meaſure, and indeed the only one that was left him. No longer perſiſting in his deſign of taking Paris, which ſo many circumſtances concurred to ruin, he quitted his poſt at Chelles, where he ran great hazards with an army whoſe intereſts claſhed with thoſe of its leader, and ſuddenly abandoning all thoſe quarters, retreated to the river of Oiſe, and fixed at *Creil; where, without ceaſing to harraſs the prince of Parma, he ſuffered him ſlowly to conſume of himſelf. During this time, he made no other motions than what ſerved to hinder his army from being enervated by ſloth. He laid ſiege to †Clermont, and continued it by frequent detachments. My company he poſted in the neighbourhood of Mante, to keep the country of Chartrain, and part of the iſle of France, in order. I obtained leave to continue near his perſon, though I was not in a condition to do him any very great ſervices; the wound in my hip not permitting me to ſit my horſe but with great uneaſineſs, and that in my elbow took away the uſe of one of my hands.

It happened as the king had foreſeen: the prince of Parma boaſted of his advantage in being maſter of the field; and that he might make uſe of it, laid ſiege to Corbeil. The king had provided this place, as well as all the other royaliſt towns, with whatever was neceſſary to enable them to hold out againſt a long ſiege. The enemy's general, who did not expect this, was aſtoniſhed at the firm reſiſtance of Rigaut, governor of Corbeil, whom he a long time deſpaired of ſubduing; but thinking

* A town upon the Oiſe. † In Beauvaiſis.

his

his honour was engaged in this undertaking, he continued his efforts, and ſucceeded at laſt. It was with this only exploit, however, that the campaign ended; he had bought it too dear to attempt a ſecond at the ſame price; and not being able to effect any thing upon the king's army, any more than his towns, he thought the wiſeſt thing he could do was to return to the Low Countries: which he did, to the extreme regret of the league, whom his preſence had greatly relieved.

He judged, like an able general, that the king, who had (if the expreſſion may be allowed) cloſed his eyes upon all the advances he had made, would open them upon his retreat; and that this would not be effected with the ſame eaſe as the reſt. He was not miſtaken; but he acted with ſo much prudence, that he prevented the laſt misfortune which muſt unavoidably have happened to any other. Notwithſtanding all his precautions, the king, by an infinite number of attacks and ſkirmiſhes, ſometimes beat up his quarters, and brought him within an inch of his ruin. The moſt conſiderable of theſe little battles, was at the paſſage over the river of Aîne. It was upon this occaſion, that the baron de Biron* engaged himſelf ſo far among the enemies battalions, that if the king had not run thither in perſon, with as many of us as were about him, and made a powerful effort to bring him off, he would have loſt his life there, or at leaſt his liberty.

I was able to keep my rank with the reſt during this whole march, which was an excellent ſchool for a ſoldier to learn his trade in. It no leſs juſtified the conduct the king had till then obſerved, than it did him honour by the manner in which he executed it. Laying aſide only the terms of ignominious and ſhameful, which the courtiers, eager to pleaſe this prince, joined (in my opinion very unjuſtly) to the prince of Parma's retreat, it is cer-

* Charles de Gontaut, ſon to the marechal.

tain,

tain, that the manner in which the king rendered an army uſeleſs, which had promiſed itſelf the conqueſt of all France, his bravery in attacking a powerful enemy who retreated not through weakneſs, and his dexterity in ſeizing all advantages, gave matter for admiration to perſons conſummate in the art of war, and equally ſtruck the eyes of the ignorant †. The king's conduct upon this occaſion, gave his partiſans new courage. Several towns ſubmitted, and ſome catholics came over to his ſide; among others, the duke of Nevers, who brought his troops along with him, either becauſe he began to be afraid of him, or was diſguſted with the league.

It was not ſuch allies as theſe that I wiſhed the king: I found he dearly bought by his compliances the aſſiſtance of a man, who might have been indeed of ſome uſe to him; but who, in my opinion, only increaſed the number of his ſecret enemies* in the council: for thus I cannot help calling all thoſe intereſted catholics, who carried every thing there with a high hand, and thought they had a right to give laws to Henry.

During this princes ſtay in the neighbourhood of Mante, I took Giſors, by means of a correſpondence, which a gentleman in my company,

† "Henry IV. ſays father Matthieu, when he was in purſuit of "the prince of Parma, ſtole away from Attichy, and went, for the "firſt time, to ſee the beautiful Gabriella at Cœuvres. He con-"tented himſelf with eating ſome bread and butter at the gate, that "he might not raiſe any ſuſpicion in her father. Afterwards mount-"ing his horſe, he ſaid, he was going towards the enemy, and that "the fair one ſhould ſoon hear what he had performed through his "paſſion for her. Vol. II. p. 59.

* By all the letters that paſſed between the duke of Nevers and Henry III. which are at the end of the firſt volume of the Memoirs that bear his name, it appears, that the duke of Nevers ſerved this prince effectually againſt the league, but without any kindneſs to the king of Navarre. When he joined this prince, their reciprocal letters ſhew, that the ſervices he did Henry IV. were conſiderable indeed, but that he exacted a very high price for them, and that it was with difficulty Henry bore with his caprice, his jealouſy, and his bad temper.

named

named Fourges, carried on with his father, who was in the place. I did not imagine the government of this city would have been refuſed me; but it happened in this inſtance as it had done in others. Meſſieurs de Nevers, d'O, and other catholics, put in practice all thoſe mean artifices, which procured them favours, that ought only to have been the rewards of merit, and prevailed upon the king to give this poſt to one of their own religion.

I WAS too ſincere to diſſemble my thoughts of ſuch injuſtice; I choſe to explain myſelf upon this ſubject at the very time when all theſe gentlemen might hear what I ſaid, and concealed nothing that lay upon my heart. The king, who was a better politician than I was, ſeemed not to be moved with my invectives againſt the catholics, although he ſecretly agreed that I was injured, and only anſwered me coldly, "I perceive you are heated at preſent; "we will talk of this affair another time. I muſt "confeſs, added he after I retired, that he has "ſome reaſon for his complaints; his temper is "naturally fiery: however, he will never be guilty "of any thing baſe or wicked, for he is a good "man, and loves honour." In the firſt emotions of my anger, I left my company to the care of my lieutenant, and went to take a tour in the valley of Aillant, and to Combrailles, upon my wife's eſtate, taking only ſix gentlemen, and my domeſtics with me. I did not expect to be employed in any military duties in this journey; but while I was at Bontin, the count of Tonnerre * prevailed upon me, to aſſiſt him in an attempt he made upon Joigny. His deſign was to force with a petard a poſtern-gate, which for a long time before had not been opened, and through that to enter the town. Tonnerre, for this exploit, had only two hundred arquebuſiers, which he had got together in haſte. They followed him

* Francis Henry, count of Clermont and Tonnerre.

about

about two hundred ſteps into the city; but here their leader falling by a ſhot from an arquebuſe, terror ſeized them, and they haſtily retreated towards the poſtern, carrying the wounded count along with them. Their danger, or rather their fear redoubling, they had the baſeneſs to leave him upon the pavement, about thirty ſteps from the poſtern; where he would have been cut to pieces by the citizens, if I had not flown to his aſſiſtance, with only twenty men: for notwithſtanding all my endeavours, I could not prevail upon thoſe cowardly ſoldiers to face about. However, I reſcued Tonnerre, who took the road to Gien, of which he was governor; after which I muſtered up his brave troop, and reſumed my way to Bontin.

THE remembrance of the king's former goodneſs to me, and an invincible inclination, drew me back to him. I found him employed in the ſiege of Chartres†; the taking of which was principally owing to the valour and addreſs of Châtillon ‡. I was prevented from being preſent at this ſiege, by an adventure the moſt dangerous I was ever engaged in, in my whole life; nor have the intentions of the authors of it, or even their names, ever come to my knowledge.

† "The magiſtrate of this city made him a very long harangue; "and telling him, that he acknowledged the city was ſubject to the "king, by divine and human right; the king, out of patience at "his prolixity, interrupted him, puſhing forward his horſe to enter, "and ſaid, Ay, and add alſo by the cannons right." Father Chalon's hiſtory of France, vol. III. p. 227. This ſiege was long and bloody. See Matthieu, vol. II. p. 63. Cayet, vol. II. p. 415. and other hiſtorians.

‡ Francis de Coligny, ſon to the admiral, and admiral of Guyenne. He died this year 1591, in his caſtle of Louve, thirty years of age, leaving by Margaret d'Ailly de Péquigny, three ſons. The calviniſt party had a great loſs in him, for it is believed, that if he had lived, he would even have excelled his father. De Thou, book cii. Three ſons of d'Andelot, the admiral's brother, died at one time, in the year 1586, their names were Laval, Sailly, and Rieux. They were ſons of Francis de Coligny, and Claude de Breaux, ſole heireſs of the houſe of Laval. Book lxxxv.

RETURNING

RETURNING from an aſſault which Châtillon made upon the body of the place, by means of a bridge of a new and very ingenious ſtructure, the king who obſerved that my former ardour for his ſervice was not diminiſhed, called me, and commanded me to bring my company before Chartres. I was obliged to go and get my men together myſelf, and at the ſame time to provide every thing neceſſary for their maintenance. About three leagues from Mante, near the town of Touvery, I ſaw a brigade of twenty horſe in the field, which I ordered Tilly to reconnoitre. Upon his information that they bore white ſcarfs, I advanced without fear or precaution: as for them, continuing their rout, as if they had not even ſeen us, they ſtruck into the wood; from which, according to the courſe of the road I had taken, I could not expect to ſee them come out. I rode on with Tilly, La-Poterie, and La Ruë, before the reſt of my troop, which conſiſted only of ſix other gentlemen, and four ſervants, who followed at ſome diſtance ſeparately. Theſe troopers, or robbers, I know not what to call them, knew the road perfectly, and had taken their meaſures ſo well, that they met us at the paſſage out of the foreſt, juſt where our road croſſed theirs. The two firſt took off their hats, when to the word, Qui vive? we anſwered, Vive le roi; but at the ſame time taking advantage of our ſecurity, fired cloſe to our breaſts. I ſaw three of the foremoſt take aim particularly at me. There was no probability that any of us would have eſcaped; but doubtleſs, precipitation, fear, and the terrors of conſcience, cauſed the hands of theſe villains to tremble, ſo that of three ſhots at me, one only reached me, which entering my lip, came out at the nape of my neck: it appeared to me, that La-Poterie and Tilly received the two others in their cloaths. La-Ruë was the only perſon who fell.

THE reſt of my troop running up at the noiſe, ſur-

furrounded me, crying, "Vive Roſny." We all together charged our aſſailants, who retired, firing, to a village, covered with hedges, where we loſt ſight of them. They continued only to fire upon us from within the houſes, which covered my face with ſmall ſhot. By this circumſtance I concluded, that our adverſaries were of intelligence with the country; and that this village was full of ſoldiers, who only fought, perhaps, to draw us nearer. After ſeveral times calling to theſe traitors to turn and accept a defiance, I thought it was the wiſeſt way to leave them, and take ſome care of my wounds; eſpecially that in my neck, which was the moſt conſiderable, and by which I loſt a great deal of blood. I got to Touvery, where, in the houſe of monſieur * d'Auteuil, I put the firſt dreſſing upon them, and from thence retired to Mante, where I was ſix weeks under the ſurgeons hands. During this ſpace, the king's army not only ſeized Chartres, but Corbie likewiſe. Parabere had the conduct of this ſiege, in the abſence of the king, who was kept at St. Quentin ‡, by his new paſſion for mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées †.

* M. de Combault d'Auteuil.

‡ It is to this year, and while Henry IV. ſtaid at St. Quentin, that we muſt bring back this prince's letter to M. de Roſny, which is without date, and may be ſeen amongſt the MSS. of the king's library, the contents of which perfectly agree with the text of our Memoirs, and is as follows: "All the news I have from Mante "are, that you have been fatigued, and are much emaciated: if you "have any deſire to refreſh yourſelf and grow fat, it is my opinion, "that you ought to come hither; mean time your brother will ſend "us news from thence of our ſiege at Chartres, &c."

From ſeveral places in theſe Memoirs, where the ſhare Henry IV. gave to M. de Roſny in all his reſolutions is mentioned, particularly that relating to his converſion, which we ſhall come to preſently, we may infer, that this prince had always an entire confidence in him. I have tranſcribed the foregoing letter to ſhew by another teſtimony, that this opinion is not ill founded; and that the duke of Sully has not through vanity impoſed upon his readers. The hiſtorians have not mentioned this miniſter till he began to appear publicly at the head of affairs. 'Tis more than probable, that a long time before that, he had been the ſoul of all the actions and councils of Henry the Great.

'Tis

THE ſiege of Noyon followed that of Corbie. There is none which I could have more wiſhed to have given a circumſtantial relation of than this, if I had been a witneſs of it. A thouſand brave actions were performed by the beſieged. The duke of Maïenne, who knew this place was of great importance to the league, ſent orders to the duke d'Aumale ‡, lieutenant-general, who was then at Ham with ſome of the forces of the party, not to neglect giving it all poſſible aſſiſtance till he approached. The duke d'Aumale endeavoured twice to throw ſuccours into it; but la Chantelerie and Tremblecourt, who led them, were cut in pieces one after the other. The viſcount de Tavannes ‖, major general, thinking he might be more ſucceſsful, preſented himſelf with four hundred arquebuſiers: they met with a party of fifty or ſixty horſe, belonging to us; who, after the Qui vive, charged them boldly, and put them to flight: the principal officers, who would have reſiſted, were all wounded, and taken priſoners with Tavannes, their commander. D'Aumale flattered himſelf, that he ſhould, in his turn, beat two quarters of light horſe, which he had ordered Bellangliſe to reconnoitre; but he found them mounted, and going to meet the king; and having attack-

'Tis eaſy to trace this time back to his moſt early youth; though indeed all the actions of the duke of Sully compoſe a life, wherein no period of it ſeems to have been that of youth. This advantage muſt be allowed to minds born, as it were, grave and ſerious, over thoſe more lively and full of fire.

† She is often mentioned in the courſe of this work. Her name was Gabrielle; ſhe was daughter of John Antony d'Eſtrées, and Frances Babou de la Bourdaiſiere. She bore ſucceſſively the names of the fair Gabrielle, madame de Liancourt, the marchioneſs of Monceaux, and ducheſs of Beaufort.

‡ Charles de Lorrain, duke d'Aumale, ſon of Claude, ſlain before Rochelle, in the year 1573. He was the third of Claude de Lorrain's ſons; from whence iſſued all the branches of the houſe of Lorrain in France: that of d'Aumale was extinct ſoon after.

‖ John de Saulx, viſcount of Tavannes, one of the marechals of the league. See a relation of the ſieges of Noyon, Pierrefont, and of all theſe expeditions in the above-named hiſtorians.

ed them, theſe light horſe, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the enemy, defended themſelves ſo long, and ſo bravely, that the baron de Biron, meſſieurs de la * Hargerie, and de la Boiſſiere, had time to come to their aſſiſtance: after which, theſe two troops joining, they defeated d'Aumale's whole detachment, which conſiſted of five hundred horſe, and as many horſe-arquebuſiers. Very few reached Ham without wounds, and a great number of priſoners were taken.

THE duke of Maïenne arriving at Ham at the very moment that theſe ſhattered remains retreated thither, was a witneſs of his loſs, and proteſted publicly, that he would efface this ſhame, either by raiſing the ſiege of Noyon, or by a battle. He drew together all his forces, ordered the baron de Roſne † to bring him the Spaniſh troops under the command of the prince of Aſcoli in Champagne; and finding himſelf at the head of nine hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, he advanced towards Noyon. He forgot his oath, when he ſaw that he had to do with men, who ſeemed not to have perceived his arrival. The commander of Noyon had repreſented to him by a gentleman, whom the king permitted to paſs through his army, that he had engaged to ſurrender the place in ſix days, if no ſuccours were ſent to him. The duke of Maïenne, the prince of Aſcoli, and the duke of Aumale, ſuffered Noyon to be taken before their eyes. This commander certainly deſerved to have been better ſeconded. His name was Rieux; and from a private ſoldier, became governor of Pierrefont, by his ſkill and bravery. Upon the report of Noyon's being attacked, he found means to throw himſelf into it, with fifty horſe, and as many arquebuſiers, to reaſſure this city, where all were in conſternation and diſmay, and to hold it out till the laſt extremity.

* Lewis d'Ognies de la Hargerie, count of Chaune.

† Chriſtian de Savigny, baron of Roſne, in the duchy of Bar.

THE

THE duke of Maïenne ſeeing that his army was now uſeleſs, ſent it into quarters, and marched ſlowly towards Paris. He had long carried on a correſpondence in Mante, and he now thought it time to execute his deſign upon that place. He privately drew out the garriſons of Paris, Dreux, and Pontoiſe, and ſuddenly preſented himſelf within muſquet-ſhot of this city, before day. My brother * was governor of it, and I was then there myſelf; my wound not permitting me to keep the field. As ſoon as I was informed of the enemies arrival, I ran upon the ramparts with my head bound up: and cauſing ſome diſcharges to be fired at the aſſailants, forced them to abandon their deſign.

THE duke of Maïenne ſucceeded no better before Houdan †, which he alarmed as he paſſed by. My other brother, who was there with his regiment, and ſome companies, gave him ſuch a reception, that he retreated with diſgrace.

WHAT had happened at Mante, joined to the information my brother had received, convinced us, that the enemies had a correſpondence in the city. After conſulting together upon what was neceſſary to be done on this occaſion, I fixed upon the following expedient: I had ſtill in my pay ſix of thoſe brave ſoldiers who ſerved as a forlorn hope in the battle of Ivry, and to whom, beſides their pay, I gave eight livres a month. They were then in my brother's garriſon, to whom I could not refuſe them, and their fidelity I was abſolutely aſſured of. As it had been concerted with us two, they pretended to be diſcontented with the governor of Mante; and preſenting themſelves to the garriſon of Pontoiſe, were received with open arms. They immediately propoſed to d'Alincourt ‡, to make him maſter of

* Solomon de Bethune, called Baron de Roſny, the author's youngeſt brother, and the third of thoſe four brothers he mentioned at the beginning of theſe Memoirs.

† On the borders of France and Normandy.

‡ Charles de Neufville, marquis d'Alincourt, ſon to Nicolas de Neufville-

Mante by the connection which they told him they ſtill had in that place. To convince the governor of this, they aſked for four ſoldiers, whom by my connivance they conveyed into Mante, and directed them to get acquainted with ſome citizens, who were well diſpoſed to engage in all ſorts of factions. In a little time every thing was agreed upon, and the day fixed for delivering up Mante to the league. Theſe four ſoldiers found ſo little difficulty in the proſecution of their deſign, that d'Alincourt, believing the ſucceſs of it infallible, would have all the honour of it to himſelf. My ſoldiers gave me exact information of all that was contriving in Pontoiſe, and the joy which ſo well concerted an enterprize occaſioned there. The general council of the league, headed by the cardinal of Bourbon * reſided in that city.

MEAN time I took my meaſures very deep, that no affectation might appear in my conduct. I cauſed trains of gunpowder to be laid upon the ramparts which they intended to ſcale, without any one's perceiving it; and ſhut up all the houſes that ſtood near that ſide; after which I introduced into the place, by ſmall diviſions at different times, the beſt ſoldiers of the garriſons of Nogent, Vernon, and

Neufville de Villerai, ſecretary of ſtate: he will be mentioned afterwards.

* This is not the old cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, ſon of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome, and brother to Antony king of Navarre, whom the league had proclaimed king. He died of the ſtone the year before, at Fontenai, in Poitou, whither Henry IV. had cauſed him to be removed from Chinon, aged ſixty-ſeven years; a prince, who had reaſon to complain, that they obliged him to aſcend a throne which had no allurements for him. He could not conceal his joy for the victory that Henry IV. gained at Coutras; and only accepted the crown, ſays Cayet, to preſerve it for that prince whom he loved. Chron. Novenn. vol. I, book ii. p. 357. The perſon mentioned here, is the cardinal his nephew, named Charles after him, ſon to Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, ſlain at Jarnac, and brother to the prince of Condé, who died at St. John d'Angely, to the prince of Conti, and the count of Soiſſons. He is mentioned in another place.

Meulan.

Meulan. This done, I thought myſelf obliged to ſend and inform the king, who was at Compeigne, of all that paſſed; which ruined our project. This prince could not reſiſt the deſire he had to receive the duke of Maïenne himſelf in Mante, and imagined he took ſufficient precaution againſt hurting our ſcheme, by not entering Mante till the night it was to be executed, and by carrying in with him only fifty horſe, and the ſame number of foot. As for me, when I ſaw him arrive, I was ſo well perſuaded that all our meaſures were broken, that I could not help reproaching him with ſome warmth for coming thus to undo our work, and expoſing, perhaps, the lives of the four ſoldiers, who conducted it, by means of the evidence that might appear againſt them. The king aſſuring me, that nothing of what I feared would happen, went to ſup at the governor's, and there, being fatigued with his long journey, threw himſelf upon a bed with his cloaths on, and large boots.

Day came, without any appearance of the enemies: I watched for them all night upon the ramparts with one of my brothers; the other ſtaid with the king. Juſt as I had retired to reſt, Bellengreville, whom I had ordered to obſerve the enemies motion without, came to me, and informed me, that the duke of Maïenne having received advice that ſome troops, led by the king in perſon, had entered Mante in the night, ſuppoſed his deſign was diſcovered, and retreated, after having advanced as far as Bourgenville. I carried him to the king, to whom he made the ſame report, and as a proof of the truth of what he ſaid, produced two carts, loaden with rope-ladders, and ſuch other inſtruments, which the leaguers, imagining they already ſaw the king at their heels, had left in the field, that they might not obſtruct their retreat. The affair became public and irretrievable; for the ſoldiers who eſcaped on both ſides, could not be ſilent.

THE king ſucceeded better at * Louviers. This city kept a prieſt † in its pay, who from the top of a belfrey, which he never left, played the part of a ſpy with great exactneſs. If he ſaw but a ſingle perſon in the field, he rung a certain bell, and at the ſame ſide hung out a great flag. We did not deſpair of being able to corrupt his fidelity; which two hundred crowns, and a promiſe of a benefice worth three thouſand livres a-year, effected. There remained only to gain ſome of the garriſon; the ſieur du Rollet took this upon himſelf, and ſucceeded. He addreſſed himſelf to a corporal and two ſoldiers; who eaſily prevailed upon the reſt of the garriſon to truſt the guard of one of the gates to them only. Every thing being concluded upon, the king preſented himſelf before Louviers, at twelve o'clock in the night ‡. No one rung the bell, nor was there the leaſt motion in the garriſon. Du Rollet entered, and opened the gate, through which the king paſſed, without the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, into the center of the town. Fontaine-Martel made ſome ineffectual efforts to draw the garriſon together; as for the citizens, they were employed in concealing their wives and daughters. This city, whoſe chief riches conſiſted in its magazines of linen and leather, was wholly pillaged. I had a gentleman with me, called Beaugrard, a native of Louviers, who was of great uſe to us in diſcovering where theſe ſort of goods were concealed, and a prodigious quantity of them was amaſſed together. The produce of my ſhare amounted to three thouſand livres. The care of Louviers was by the king conſigned to du Rollet.

THE ſame good fortune attended the duke of Montpenſier in all his enterpriſes in Normandy §.

* In Upper Normandy.

† This prieſt was called John de la Tour. ‡ June 5.

§ In the Lower Normandy, Falaize, Baïeux, Argentan, Lizieux, &c. were in the intereſt of the league: Caën, Alençon, Séez, Ecouché, &c. in the king's. The moſt conſiderable action happened in April 1589, in the field of Argentan, near Pierrefitte, Villars, and

This ſucceſs was no more than neceſſary to comfort the king for the news he received, that the duke of Guiſe *, whom he conſidered as his principal enemy, had eſcaped from the caſtle of Tours, where he had been confined ever ſince the aſſaſſination at Blois. The king now reſumed his former deſign of attempting Rouen. Secure of the aſſiſtance and affection of almoſt all the cities of Normandy, he quitted Mante, where for ſome time paſt he had fixed his abode, and made it a little capital for the reſidence of his court and council; and cauſed his troops to file off towards the city. While preparations were making for this important ſiege, Henry took a private journey to Compeigne, of which love was the true cauſe, though he gave out that it was to ſend to Germany for a recruit of horſe. The viſcount Turenne undertook this affair, through gratitude for the king's having effected, and honoured with his preſence, his marriage with mademoiſelle de Sadan †,

and Commeaux, where the duke of Montpenſier cut off the leaguers of thoſe cantons, whom they called Gautiers, to the number of five or ſix thouſand. They were commanded by the count of Briſſac, Pierrecourt, Louchan, the baron d'Echaufour, and others. Three thouſand were left dead upon the ſpot, and a thouſand taken priſoners; the reſt eſcaped to Argentan. Commeaux, which at preſent is ſcarce a village, was taken with great difficulty. At length the duke of Montpenſier extirpated this whole party, and reduced ſeveral of the rebellious cities. He was aſſiſted by the count of Torigny, meſſ. d'Emery, de Loncaunai, de Beuvron, de Viques, de Bacqueville, l'Archant, and others. See theſe expeditions in the third volume of the Memoirs of the league.

* Charles of Lorrain, ſon of Henry duke of Guiſe, who was ſlain at Blois, and of Catherine of Cleves. He was born in the year 1571. "The flight of the duke of Guiſe will ruin the league," ſaid Henry IV. as it is related by le Grain. The duke's valet de chambre having found means to amuſe Rouvrai, and his guards, either by play, or drinking, let him down from the higheſt window in the caſtle, in the midſt of the day, with a rope which he afterwards made uſe of to deſcend himſelf. The duke got into a ſmall boat, which carried him to the other ſide of the river, where two horſes waited for him, &c. Matthieu, vol. II. p. 81. Cayet, vol. II. book iii. p. 465, &c.

† Charlotte de la Mark, daughter of Robert de la Mark, ſovereign prince of Sedan, and of Frances of Bourbon-Montpenſier, by the death of her brother, William Robert de la Mark, duke of Bouillon,

daughter and ſole heireſs of the deceaſed duke of Bouillon, which was concluded this year. Nor was I, for my part, ſorry that this retreat gave me an opportunity of enjoying, ſome time longer, at Mante, the company of madam Châteaupers, with whom chance had brought me acquainted; and the inclination I felt for her was ſtrong enough to make me entertain thoughts of a ſecond marriage.

THE king had expreſly forbidden all commerce, and exportation of merchandizes, and every kind of proviſion into Paris and Rouen, as being cities in open rebellion: but in this, as in every thing elſe, he was very ill obeyed. The governors of paſſes, eſpecially on the ſide of the Seine, gained by the immenſe ſums, which they procured them, almoſt publicly granted the neceſſary paſſports for merchants, and maſters of boats. De Fourges, whom I have formerly mentioned, came one day, and informed me, that a large boat, whoſe lading was reputed worth fifty thouſand crowns, had gone up the river to Paris, where, after a few days ſtay, a leſs one would bring back the produce in ſilver to Rouen; which he was well aſſured of, becauſe his father had charge of the boat. I cauſed it to be ſo well watched, that in its return it fell into my hands, and I ſaw with aſtoniſhment the paſſport ſigned by Berengueville, and my brother, the one governor of Meulan, and the other of Mante; but they did not care to mention this to me, nor did I take any notice of it to them, but cauſed the boat and its maſter to be brought to

which happened at Geneva, in the year 1588, ſhe became heireſs of this principality. The duke, in his laſt will, forbad his ſiſter to marry a Roman catholic. This circumſtance, the king's friendſhip for the viſcount Turenne, his deſire of taking the lady from the dukes of Lorrain, Montpenſier, and Nevers, each of whom demanded her for his ſon; policy, which adviſed him to give an ambitious neighbour to the duke of Lorrain; and perhaps the belief that this marriage would induce the viſcount to lay aſide his deſign of making himſelf head of the calviniſts in France: theſe were the motives which determined Henry IV. to marry the heireſs of Sedan to the viſcount Turenne.

Mante. I opened two large packets, where I expected to find the fifty thouſand crowns in ſpecie. But ſeeing only ſome pieces of gold and ſilver thread, and a piece of Spaniſh ſilk, I threatened to put the maſter of the boat into a dungeon. The elder Fourges, alarmed at this threat, preſented me with letters of exchange for ſix and thirty thouſand crowns, which he would have perſuaded me was the whole produce of the ſale. But as he defended himſelf with much action, the weight of the gold he had about him broke his pockets, and ſo great a quantity fell from them, that the floor was in an inſtant covered with crowns of the ſun *. He probably intended to apply this ſum to his own uſe, or thought it could be in no place ſo ſecure as about himſelf. 'Tis impoſſible to expreſs the confuſion he was in at this accident. After diverting myſelf ſome time in obliging him to take ſeveral turns about the room, I ordered him to ſtrip, and found ſeven thouſand crowns in gold ſewed up in his cloaths. I was then in ſome neceſſity for money, and waiting for the ſale of my corn, wood, and hay at Roſny: the king made me a preſent of this ſum, and was extremely pleaſed with the recital of poor Fourges's adventure. As for Berengueville, and my brother, they were extremely angry with me. But to return to the ſiege of Rouen.

The king had never ſeen himſelf at the head of ſuch conſiderable forces. Four thouſand Engliſh were ſent him under the command of Roger Williams, and he expected ſoon a ſecond reinforcement from England, which landed during the ſiege, commanded by the earl of Eſſex †, the miniſter and fa-

* A gold coin current in thoſe times. It was firſt ſtruck in the reign of Lewis XI. and ſo called, becauſe there was the figure of a ſun above the crown. The value of theſe crowns at this time is ſixty-four ſols.

† Robert d'Evreaux, earl of Eſſex, favourite to queen Elizabeth. See the letter of thanks which Henry IV. wrote to queen Elizabeth, Villeroy's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 249.

vourite of queen Elizabeth. The United Provinces, beſides the two regiments in the ſervice of this prince, ſent a fleet of fifty ſail well equipped, with two thouſand five hundred ſoldiers, under the command of count Philip of Naſſau, on board, to the coaſt of Normandy. The duke of Bouillon (for the viſcount Turenne took this title after his marriage) ſucceeded ſo well in his negotiation in Germany, that he brought back five or ſix thouſand horſe, and ſome companies of foot, with the prince of Anhalt at their head. Theſe foreign auxiliaries, joined to ſix thouſand Swiſs, which the king had in his pay, to different reinforcements that came from ſeveral places, particularly in Normandy; and to thoſe troops, either proteſtants or catholics, that were at his own diſpoſal, compoſed in all an army of forty thouſand men. Caën, and the other chief towns of the province, engaged to furniſh proviſions, and every thing neceſſary for a ſiege, which could not fail of being long, the goodneſs of the place, and the ſtrength of the garriſon conſidered. The marquis of Villars †, well known for his courage and capacity, ſhut himſelf up there with the ſon of the duke of Maïenne, reſolved to bury themſelves under its ruins. In effect, from the day that we ſat down before this city, till the prince of Parma's arrival, which obliged us to raiſe the ſiege, there paſſed almoſt ſix months; and what is worſe, ſix winter months: for it was inveſted the firſt of October, and abandoned the twentieth of March following, after attempts on the part of the beſiegers, and a reſiſtance on that of the beſieged, ſome circumſtances of which I ſhall relate.

The troopers of the beſiegers were placed in different quarters; the king's were at Darnetal, and that of my company at Freſne l'Eſplen, where I ſeldom went, the king having honoured me with a

† André de Brancas-Villars, of the ancient family of Brancatio, originally Neapolitan. It is not the ſame with that of the marquis of Villars, which is deſcended from Honoré, baſtard of Savoy.

lodging

lodging in his. Here I diſpoſed myſelf for a long ſtay, and hardly ever quitted him or the marechal de Biron. At firſt there appeared ſuch an emulation among the officers to be employed, that, to avoid all diſputes, the king regulated the time and duration of each of their ſervices; and declared that every fourth day he would himſelf work at the trench, with the gentlemen that were about his perſon, who were to the number of two or three hundred.

I HAD ſolicited beforehand for a poſt in the artillery, for which my inclination was ſo ſtrong, that I ſubmitted to ſerve not only under the marechal de Biron, but meſſieurs de La-Guiche*, de Borne, and de Fayolles alſo. But Biron, who hated me, gained over theſe generals, and prevailed upon them to exclude me, with which I had afterwards reaſon to be well pleaſed; for thoſe pieces of ordnance of which I was to have the charge, happened to fall into the enemy's power.

THIS it was that gave riſe to the marechal's hatred towards me: It was debated in the council on what ſide the place ſhould be attacked. Biron was of opinion, that we ſhould begin with the caſtle; I, on the contrary, did not ſcruple to maintain, that we ought firſt to attack the city, which would bring along with it the reduction of Fort St. Catherine. This queſtion was a long time the ſubject of all converſations, as well at the table as council; and Biron never forgot the expreſſion I generally uſed, *The city taken, the caſtle muſt ſurrender.*

I CANNOT comprehend how a man ſo experienced as the marechal was, could determine for attacking the caſtle, which, not to mention the uncommon ſkill of the commander, and the ſtrength of the garriſon, nor its excellent fortifications, had this circumſtance in particular from the nature of the place, that in attacking it without, not half the number of

* Philibert de La-Guiche, John de Durfort de Borne, Bertrand de Molet de Fayolles.

ſoldiers could be brought againſt it, which the beſieged could bring to defend it; which is quite contrary to all other cities of war.

HOWEVER, the opinion of the marechal de Biron carried it; for his authority, and that dependance to which he had accuſtomed the other general officers, ſecured all the votes. Without doubt, this marechal, flattering himſelf that nothing could be able to reſiſt ſo ſtrong an army, took thoſe meaſures which he thought moſt honourable, and likelieſt to bring the ſiege ſoon to an end; and the king, who was reſolved not to ſpare * himſelf, by following this advice, ſeemed to be of the ſame opinion. For I look upon as a calumny only, raiſed by the marechal's enemies, that report which was whiſpered in the army, that he had aſked the king for the government of Rouen, which this prince had refuſed him, becauſe he had before promiſed it to du Hallot †, upon the recommendation of monſieur de Montpenſier; and that he endeavoured ſecretly to thwart this enterprize, and, through envy, gave ſuch advice as he knew would render all our efforts upon this place ineffectual. 'Tis certain, theſe continual conteſts with the duke of Bouillon had more than once like to have ruined all; for this nobleman, to be revenged on the king, raiſed a mutiny amongſt the horſe and other German forces which he had brought with him.

* Perhaps alſo they depended upon blowing up the fort of St. Catherine with the mine; but the deſign was diſcovered by the beſieged. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Thoſe writers that have defended the marechal Biron's advice againſt that given by the duke of Sully, with regard to the place at which they ſhould begin the attack, ſay, that it was very difficult, and, at the ſame time, very dangerous, for the army of Henry IV. to leave behind them the fort of St. Catherine, the hill eſpecially being ſo near the city. See, upon the operations of this ſiege, F. Matthieu, vol. II, p. 96. and following. Cayet, Chron. Novenn, vol. II. book iv. (who is for the duke of Sully's opinion againſt the marechal Biron) and other hiſtorians.

† Francis de Montmorency du Hallot, lieutenant-general for the king in Normandy. He was wounded at the ſiege of Rouen, and afterwards ſlain by the marquis d'Allegre.

THE

The batteries were accordingly raiſed oppoſite to the fort, and we contented ourſelves with guarding the lower part of the river, and placed there ſome companies of German foot, which having been worſted in ſeveral ſallies that were made on that ſide, yielded the poſt to the Dutch, who underſtood ſieges better than they. In effect, theſe laſt maintained themſelves there, and prevented any more ſallies from that place. It was not long before the king perceived that he had engaged in a very difficult attempt; but nothing, he imagined, was impoſſible to continued labour. Villars was not contented with defending himſelf within; he ſallied out of the caſtle, and cauſed a deep trench to be cut upon the declivity of the hill, over-againſt the fort, with which the end of it communicated, and placed there in the night a guard of ſix or ſeven hundred men.

As this new work was extended far into the country, and as it not only diſordered the beſiegers in their attacks upon the caſtle, but alſo expoſed them to be fallen upon in the rear, while at the ſame time they had the garriſon from within in front, the king reſolved to ſeize it, and render it uſeleſs to the enemy. For this purpoſe he made choice of the ſame night when it was his turn to watch at the trench with his three hundred gentlemen, whom he commanded to be completely armed, and to have, beſides their uſual arms, halberts in their hands, and piſtols at their girdles, and to this troop added four hundred muſketeers. It was at midnight, and amidſt the extreme cold of December, that we attacked this trench at different places. The action, which was very obſtinate, continued half an hour with equal animoſity on both ſides. We uſed our utmoſt endeavours to gain the brink, and the beſieged repulſed us ſeveral times. I was twice thrown to the ground, my halbert broke, and my arms looſened or broke in pieces. Maignan, whom I had obtained permiſſion to keep near me, raiſed me, and

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put my arms again in order, and gave me his halbert. The trench was at laſt carried by main force, and we cleared it of more than fifty dead or dying enemies, whom we threw from the top of the hill. This trench was open to the cannon of the fort, but the king had the precaution to order ſome gabions, hogſheads, and pieces of wood to be brought there, which covered the Engliſh, to whom he committed the guard of it.

VILLARS did not expect to have ſeen his outworks carried in ſo ſhort a time. When he was told it, and that it was the king himſelf who had conducted the enterprize, "By heavens," ſaid he, "this prince "deſerves a thouſand crowns for his valour. I am "ſorry that, by a better religion, he does not inſpire "us with as ſtrong an inclination to gain him new "ones, as to detain from him his own; but it ſhall "never be ſaid, that I have failed to attempt in my "own perſon, what a great king has performed in "his." In effect, he put himſelf at the head of four hundred men, armed as he had been told the king's were, and taking alſo eight hundred muſketeers ſelected out of his whole number, he attacked the Engliſh, and diſlodged them from the trench. The king, piqued with the vanity of Villars, and reſolving not to let go his hold, prepared for a ſecond attempt. The Engliſh, apprehending reproaches, which they certainly had not deſerved, intreated the king to put a hundred Engliſh gentlemen in his troop, and to ſuffer all the foot, who were to attend him on this occaſion, to be Engliſh likewiſe. They alſo demanded leave to ſuſtain the firſt effort of the enemy, and behaved ſo bravely, that the trench was a ſecond time regained: they afterwards maintained themſelves in it, and took away from the beſieged all inclination to approach it for the future. By this obſtinate ſtruggle for a trench only, it is eaſy to judge of the event of a ſiege, of which this attack was but the beginning. The king was ſenſible, that notwithſtanding

withſtanding all his care, and the infinite labour he underwent, he would find great difficulty in ſucceeding. It was the good deſtiny of France that preſerved this prince on occaſions, when he hazarded his perſon in ſuch a manner, as to make us tremble for his life. And it was upon this account, that the next day after the trench was taken, I took an opportunity to expreſs our common fears, when he drew me aſide, in the preſence of the catholics, and all the courtiers, to converſe with me upon the preſent ſituation of his affairs. "I cannot do otherwiſe, "my friend," replied he, as ſoon as I began to expoſtulate with him; "and ſince it is for my glory "and crown that I fight, my life and every thing "elſe ought to be of no conſideration with me."

IT is certain, that in the king's ſituation he could not do leſs than he did, to perſuade the world, that if this ſiege failed, it would not be through his fault; and all thoſe inſtances of ſhining valour were no more than neceſſary to efface the ſhame of being foiled in an attempt which one half of his army feared he ſhould ſucceed in, almoſt as much as the enemies themſelves. Theſe were the very ſame catholics whom I have formerly mentioned, who not contented with having obliged him to begin the ſiege at a place which rendered the taking of the city impoſſible, ſuffered him to ſuſtain all the danger and fatigue, obeyed him but by halves and with regret, created innumerable difficulties, and publicly declared, that nothing was to be expected from them, while he continued to profeſs a religion different from their own.

IT was to expreſs himſelf freely upon ſo many cauſes of uneaſineſs, that he was deſirous of diſcourſing with me, and I then ſaid nothing to him, which he did not know as well as myſelf, at ſo little trouble were his domeſtic enemies to conceal their ſentiments. He told me, he had perceived for ſome time the approach of a much greater misfortune, which was the deſertion of all the catholics in his army, which

" which will bring along with it," added he, " the " ruin of the ſtate, and the houſe of Bourbon; for " if they once break with me, they will never more " chuſe a king out of that family." He added, that this diſobedience was an incurable evil, which he was obliged to diſſemble the knowledge of. He made me obſerve, that at the very time we were ſpeaking, meſſieurs de Nevers, de Longueville, de la Guiche, d'O, and de Châteauvieux, jealous of ſo familiar a converſation with an huguenot, looked at us maliciouſly from a corner of the hall, and whiſpered continually together. For this reaſon, he ſaid, it would be neceſſary to ſeparate, and that he would go and tell them our diſcourſe turned upon a negotiation with the marquis of Villars, which, in reality, the king had hinted to me in this converſation.

NOTHING could have happened more advantageous for the king, than to have put an end to the ſiege of Rouen by a treaty with Villars, which, in reality, would have drawn him from the league into his own party. It was what this prince ardently wiſhed for, but ſtill leſs for the honour of his enterprize, than the advantage that would ariſe from the gaining over ſuch a man as this governor. He imagined it might be brought about by means of la Font, for whom Villars had great conſideration, though he was only his ſteward. The king was not ignorant that Villars had received this domeſtic into his ſervice, after he had left mine; and that la Font owed his favour with his new maſter to thoſe teſtimonies I had given of his integrity. This thought had ſtruck me before it was mentioned by the king, and I had even found means to get la Font ſounded upon the ſubject. His anſwer, which I related to the king, was, that at preſent he ſaw no appearance of what I propoſed to him; and, far from conſenting to ſee me, as I deſired, he ſaid, he thought himſelf obliged, to prevent his maſter's entertaining any ſuſpicion of his fidelity, to have no commerce with me. All he

he could do, therefore, was to obſerve if monſieur de Villars changed his ſentiments; and in that caſe to confirm him as much as poſſible in them, and to inform me of it.

HENRY thought no more of it; but before we ſeparated, he aſked me what he ought to do with regard to the ſiege, and the prince of Parma, who, he had juſt learned, had paſſed the Somme, to join his troops with thoſe of the duke of Maïenne. The king made no queſtion that his intention was to proceed directly to Rouen, nor that Villars would eaſily hold out till his arrival. I told the king, that in my opinion, there were but two things for him to do, and that it lay in his own breaſt to determine upon which of them he pleaſed: one of which was, to change abſolutely the order, and place of attack, and to carry it to the ſide of the city, and there uſe his utmoſt endeavours to make himſelf maſter of it before the enemy ſhould appear: the other, that without loſs of time he ſhould go and attack the prince of Parma, and oblige him to repaſs the Somme, after which he might continue the ſiege without fear.

THE king reſolved upon the laſt: but, as by following it he had no deſign to raiſe the ſiege, leſt the prince of Parma, who perhaps had that only in view, ſhould afterwards avoid the battle, he told me, that he would go and meet him with ſeven or eight thouſand horſe, who were of no uſe at the ſiege; and that he would attack them with his cavalry, or, if he had not paſſed the Somme, diſpute the paſſage with him. He quitted me, ordering me to prepare myſelf to go along with him with fifteen or twenty troopers, choſen from the reſt of my company.

I RETURNED at the end of two days from Freſne l'Eſplen; and, on my arrival at Darnetal, I learnt that Villars had made a ſally at the head of a hundred horſe, with whom he overthrew the guard; and would have been the cauſe of much greater confuſion,

ſuſion, if the king, armed only with a cuiraſs, had not ran thither, followed by the baron de Biron, an Engliſh officer (whoſe name I have forgot), Grillon *, and ſome others that were about him: theſe three gentlemen eſpecially, gained immortal glory there. Grillon's arm was broke by a ſhot from an arquebuſe. As for the king, having precipitated himſelf into a danger ſomewhat like that which is related of Alexander the Great in the city of the Oxydracæ, he extricated himſelf out of it with equal preſence of mind, and equal intrepidity. If this, which is only an example, has all the appearance of a fable, Henry's action had two whole armies to be witneſſes of it.

THE prince of Parma, with his whole army, poſſeſſed the border of the Somme, and, ſatisfied with recovering this river, made no other motion; for the governor of Rouen had ſent to inform him, that, as he intended to ſtrike ſome important blow, he might let it be a good while before he came to his aſſiſtance; and he likewiſe waited for the arrival of Sfondrate, who was to bring him the troops of his uncle pope Gregory XIV. †, and thoſe of the duke of Maïenne, who however came not immediately. He had been obliged to go with his beſt troops to Paris, to puniſh the inſolence of the council of Sixteen, who, abuſing the power he had truſted them with, had dared to hang the preſident Briſſon ‡, and ſome other counſellors as venerable for their virtue

* James Berton de Crillon, or Grillon.

† Sixtus V. died in the month of Auguſt 1590. Henry IV. when he was informed of his death, ſaid, "Here is a trick of Spaniſh policy: I have loſt a pope who was every thing to me."

‡ Barnaby Briſſon, Claude Larcher, and John Tardiff, lord du Ru, counſellors of the parliament. "A cataſtrophe very unworthy of ſo "learned and excellent a man," ſays Mezeray, ſpeaking of the preſident Briſſon, "but uſual to thoſe who think to keep well with two "parties." For the parliament being transferred by the king to Tours, Briſſon was the only one of the ſix preſidents who remained at Paris. The league obliged him to perform the duties of firſt preſident, and it was he that helped to degrade king Henry III. According to the duke of Nevers' obſervation, his death was looked upon to be a juſt puniſhment of his ingratitude. Henry III. had freely beſtowed upon

as their ages; and who might poſſibly have carried their outrages farther, if the duke of Maïenne, fearing perhaps ſome ſudden caprice of theſe rebels* againſt himſelf, had not doomed them to the like puniſhment: but as in executing this act of juſtice he had certain meaſures to keep, he did not join the prince of Parma as ſoon as had been expected.

THE king, when he was informed of this diſpoſition, thought it neceſſary to haſten his march. He left the marechal Biron the care of carrying on the ſiege, whoſe forces he weakened but by ſeven or eight thouſand horſe; conſiſting from three to four thouſand French troopers, as many German horſe, and a thouſand horſe-arquebuſiers; at the head of which he left Darnetal, and took the road to the Somme. He paſſed the firſt day by Boiſſiere and Neuf-Châtel; the ſecond by Blangy, Londiniere, Longueville, Senerpont, and Gamache; and the third advanced to Folleville, with one detachment only, leaving the body of his cavalry behind him, under the conduct of the duke of Nevers.

WE met a conſiderable party, led by meſſieurs de Roſne†, de Balagny, de Vitry, the baron de la Châtre, St. Pol, La-Mothe, and others, who had doubtleſs advanced with the ſame deſign as we, to

upon him the poſt of preſident. However, he was one of the greateſt men of the robe. The duke of Maïenne revenged his death, by cauſing Louchard, Ameline, Aimonet, and Anroux, four of the ſixteen, to be hanged in the parlour of the Louvre. See the hiſtorians.

* One of the ſixteen, named Normand, ſaid one day in the duke of Maïenne's chamber, "Thoſe who made him, have a right to un-"make him." Hamilton, the curate of St. Côme, a furious leaguer, came himſelf, attended by prieſts, inſtead of ſoldiers, to ſeize the counſellor Tardif in his houſe.

† Chriſtian or Chrétien de Savigny, baron of Roſne; John de Montluc de Baligny; Lewis de l'Hôpital, lord de Vitry; Claude de La-Châtre; Antony de St. Pol; Valentine de Pardieu, lord de la Mothe, governor of Valenciennes. This laſt was a Frenchman, of the country of Beauvoiſis; but he had all his life ſerved in the Spaniſh army, and was ſlain in the year 1595, at the ſiege of Dourlans, at the head of the Spaniſh artillery, very much regretted by the Spaniards. The king of Spain had juſt created him count of Ekelbeke. See his death and panegyric in de Thou, book cxii.

diſcover

diſcover the ſituation and forces of the enemy. The king commanded the baron de Biron, meſſieurs de Lavardin, de Givry*, de St. Geran, de Marivaut, de Chanlivaut, La-Curée, d'Arambure†, and ſome others, to go and attack them, who were repulſed and handled very roughly; and part fell, among which was Lavardin. Henry ran with three hundred horſe to diſengage them; and, believing this encounter might be followed by an action more conſiderable, at leaſt between the cavalry of the two armies, which was what he ardently wiſhed for, ſent orders to Nevers to haſten and join him: but the prince of Parma had a contrary deſign, and reſtrained his ſquadrons, who had retreated of themſelves when they perceived ours advance; and the king, ſeeing no appearance of effecting any thing in the midſt of ſo many battalions, contented himſelf with obſerving this army cloſely, and checking its motions, as he went to his quarters at ‡ Breteuil; where his cavalry, for fear of a ſurprize, were obliged to keep themſelves extremely cloſe, and part of them even lay without all night, tho' the ground was covered with ſnow.

The ardour with which the king went to meet an enemy ſo greatly ſuperior to him in numbers, awakened all our fears for the dangers to which he expoſed his perſon, and obliged us to repreſent the conſequences to him in very ſtrong terms. But this prince, who had no conception of that caution we

* Anne d'Anglure, baron of Givry. This officer was equally famous for his abilities in war, and his taſte of polite literature. Claude de l'Iſle Marivaut; René-Viau, lord of Chanlivaut; —— Filhet de La-Curée: he was one of thoſe perſons in whom the king confided, and was called by him nothing but Curée. He performed wonders at the battle of Ivry, and on many other occaſions. The vol. of manuſcripts marked 8929, of the royal library, is filled with relations of his intrepidity: we may have occaſion to mention him hereafter. He was killed in an encounter at the ſiege of Montauban.

† John lord d'Arambure.

‡ This town, and ſome of thoſe places abovementioned, are in Picardy: the others are in the country of Caux.

propoſed

propoſed to him, when glory was in queſtion, did not alter his conduct; but ſatisfied himſelf with naming thirty of us to continue near his perſon, and not to leave him upon any occaſion whatever. An employment highly honourable indeed; but the danger of which, in ſome degree, made it leſs deſirable. With this precaution, which was no more than neceſſary, he only reſigned himſelf ſtill more to his eager thirſt of glory.

BEING informed that the duke of Guiſe, who commanded the prince of Parma's van-guard, had put himſelf at the head of his troops to facilitate the lodgment of his infantry in a large town called Bures*, he reſolved to cut off this troop; which he executed with the utmoſt bravery, at the head of twelve hundred horſe and a thouſand horſe arquebuſiers. A great number of the enemies were left dead upon the place, and the reſt betook themſelves to flight. The duke of Guiſe's green ſtandard was taken, and all the baggage plundered. Henry, who was not willing that any of theſe troopers ſhould eſcape, eſpecially their colonel, ſent immediate orders to the duke of Nevers† to advance to Bully, that he might poſſeſs himſelf of the road through which he ſuppoſed the duke of Guiſe and the fugitives would retreat to the reſt of the army, and to take them priſoners. I was ordered to ſuſtain the duke of Nevers with ſixty horſe, which I obeyed with reluctance, not doubting but in ſuch hands the affair would have an end very unworthy of the beginning.

THE duke of Nevers, who was the ſloweſt of all men, began by ſending to make choice of the moſt favourable roads, and marched with a ſlow pace to

* In Beauvoiſis.

† Lewis de Gonzague de Mantua, duke of Nevers, by his marriage with Henrietta of Cleves, ducheſs of Nevers. Although the author always ſpeaks diſadvantageouſly of him here, the actions he performed were conſiderable enough to rank him with the braveſt ſoldiers of thoſe times. See his life and panegyric in Brantome's Lives of illuſtrious men, vol. III. p. 259, and following.

Bully,

Bully, with his hands and noſe in his muff, and his whole perſon well wrapt up in his coach. This once he had no occaſion to boaſt of his extreme caution. It was ſo long before he arrived, that he gave time to the prince of Parma, who was more diligent than he, to throw a regiment of five or ſix hundred men into Bully, who made ſuch haſte, that they reached the town in the beginning of the night. As for the duke of Nevers, the ſun was riſen the next day when he had juſt aſcended the mountain, at the bottom of which Bully is ſituated, preceded by his couriers, whom he had that day doubled, through an exceſs of caution againſt a flying enemy: the firſt, to the number of fifty, marched two or three miles before him; and the ſecond, which amounted to an hundred, went ſome few paces before his coach. But unfortunately, with all his foreſight, he forgot to make ſure of this paſſage, and had not ſent a ſingle ſoldier to keep guard there. He began to deſcend the mountain with great tranquility, and the more ſo, as he was ignorant of the troops that were in Bully. His firſt couriers, entering the city, were ſufficiently ſurprized at the ſight of ſo much good company; but the cold having obliged the ſoldiers to unarm themſelves, and to lay down their pikes, to range themſelves round a large fire that they had kindled, theſe fifty couriers had time to ſave themſelves by flight. They did not direct their courſe to that ſide where their maſter was, but paſſed quite through the city, and went out at the oppoſite end, without being in the leaſt troubled about what might happen to the duke of Nevers; whoſe coach at that time was ſunk into the deepeſt part of a declivity, equally ſteep, rugged, and winding. It was in this place that the duke of Nevers, hearing the noiſe of ſome fuſileers that were firing after his firſt couriers, and the ſecond coming to make their report, full of conſternation, he was frozen with terror; and reſolving now to loſe no time, threw away his muff and his furs, not without ſeveral

ral times exclaiming, "The devil," and quarrelling with his ſervants for not coming ſoon enough to help him out. All their endeavours could not diſengage the coach, which was forced to be dragged back to the top of the mountain; where the duke again made uſe of it, to return with more ſpeed to the place where he had lain the whole night. It was thus that we ſeconded the king upon this occaſion: a truly ridiculous exploit, where the danger was far leſs than the fear, ſince not a ſingle man was loſt.

The prince of Parma, by this important blow, knowing what ſort of an enemy he had to deal with, durſt not, for the future, ſuffer his van guard to be ſeparated from the army; and perceiving that the king almoſt never loſt ſight of him, redoubled his vigilance and caution, which was, without doubt, the cauſe that he did not take all the advantage he might have done of the encounter at Aumale: an action uncommonly bold on the king's ſide, and well deſerving of a particular relation here.

Some days after that I have juſt mentioned, the king, following the prince of Parma at a great diſtance, had advanced with ſix thouſand horſe as far as Aumale. Givry, whom he had ſent at the head of ſome troopers to get intelligence, returned and informed him, that the enemy's army was advancing directly towards him in the plain, in good order, apparently with a deſign to force him back, and to cut him off in his retreat. The king called a council; and finding, as he ſaid, that he had too many, and too few ſoldiers, he reſolved to ſend all his cavalry back to Ophy, Blangy, and Neuf-Châtel, and to keep with him only four hundred troopers, and five hundred horſe-arquebuſiers, and with this troop to advance into the plain, to diſcover exactly the condition and number of the enemy; and, hovering about them, to take or cut off ſome ſquadrons.

He aſcended the hill of *Aumale with his nine

* In Normandy, upon the borders of Picardy.

hundred

hundred horſe, and marched two leagues without perceiving any thing, 'till the ſky, which had been extremely cloudy and dark, becoming very clear, he a ſecond time ſaw Givry return, who came to ſatisfy him in every particular relating to this army, which was ſo near that they heard diſtinctly the ſound of the trumpets and drums. The king, however, willing to obſerve it himſelf, made an exact review of it, and found that it conſiſted of ſixteen or ſeventeen thouſand infantry, with ſeven or eight thouſand cavalry, who marched very cloſe; the cavalry in the midſt of the battalions, and the whole flanked with chariots and baggage, that rendered all approach impoſſible. From this ſituation of the enemy, he found he had ſtill too many men; and retaining only an hundred troopers, ordered the eight hundred others to repaſs the dyke and town of Aumale, and three hundred horſe of his ſquadron to ſtop upon the declivity of the hill, to be ready to aſſiſt him, if there ſhould be occaſion. Five hundred arquebuſiers he gave to the conduct of Lavardin, with orders to poſt them in the ditches and hedges that were at the entrance of the town, from whence they might harraſs the enemy, if they approached too near. As for him, he not only waited for the enemy with his hundred horſe, but even marched to meet them.

We now gazed upon each other with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at the raſhneſs of a deſign, which ſeemed to expoſe the king to inevitable death. No one durſt venture to expoſtulate with him, yet knew not how to be ſilent. At length I was choſen, and deputed by the reſt to repreſent to the king, in the name of us all, the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, and to intreat him to alter his reſolution. This commiſſion I performed with all imaginable caution. "'Tis "fear," replied the king, "that occaſions this re-"queſt: from you, of all others, I never expected "to hear ſuch a propoſition." I conjured him not to think ſo unjuſtly of any of us; and told him, that all

all we required was, that he would give us what orders he pleaſed, provided he would himſelf retire. Henry confeſſed to me afterwards, that he was ſenſibly affected with theſe words; and repenting of what he had ſaid to me, replied, that no expreſſions of our fidelity could reach the idea he conceived of it. "But," added he, coldly, and with an air that convinced me how much in vain it would be to ſpeak to him any more upon this ſubject, "be you "alſo aſſured that I am not ſo raſh as you imagine; "that I am as careful of myſelf as any other, and "that I will retreat ſo ſeaſonably that no misfor-"tune ſhall happen."

THE prince of Parma looked upon this bold attempt as a ſnare that was laid for him, to draw his cavalry into an open field where he ſhould meet with the king's, which he ſuppoſed to be concealed, and much ſuperior to his. He even ſuſpected a long time, that the king's whole army was not far off; and, having no deſign to engage him, he did not quit his poſt, which was in the center of the army, where he was ſeated in an uncovered chariot, without arms or boots, and employed in giving orders to reſtrain the ardour of the ſoldiers, who ſuffered with impatience a hundred men to inſult thirty thouſand. However, when he was aſſured, by the report of his light horſe and his carabineers, that at preſent he had but a hundred horſe in front, and that if there was any cavalry it muſt be on the other ſide of the valley, he thought he ſhould riſque nothing by attacking us; which he did with ſuch fury, and at ſo many places, that we were broke through, and driven back as far as the valley. Here it was that our arquebuſiers had poſted themſelves; and on our arrival the king cried to them to charge, after having firſt warned us not to charge, in order that the enemy might ſuſpect an ambuſcade in this place, and ſtop. In effect, they did ſtop ſhort; but finding that this cry was follow-

ed only with fifty or ſixty ſhots that we fired upon them, they came on again more furiouſly.

Our arquebuſiers, ſeized with fear, or perhaps willing to chuſe a more advantageous ground, had retired much lower than the place that had been preſcribed for them, and they were the principal cauſe of the misfortune that happened. The enemy's ſquadrons, encouraged by the little reſiſtance they found, forced our ranks, and we could not hinder them from mixing amongſt us. We ſaw ourſelves reduced to the neceſſity of fighting with this vaſt multitude with our piſtols and ſwords, in a danger that may be eaſily imagined: and, indeed, in my opinion, there could not be a greater; for the hundred troopers were already reduced to forty. Henry, ſeeing that none came to his aſſiſtance in this extremity, reſolved to make his retreat: which, on this occaſion, was almoſt as dangerous as a defence, becauſe we had a bridge to paſs, and that bridge at a great diſtance. This prince, with a compoſure truly admirable, placed himſelf in the rear of his troop, and made it file off towards the bridge of Aumale, which, by the order he cauſed to be obſerved, it paſſed over without confuſion. He was the laſt that paſſed, and held firm againſt the enemy till every one of us was on the other ſide. That moment he was ſhot in the reins, which fortunately was the only wound he received, and which did not hinder him from continuing to fight on the other ſide of the bridge, while he was endeavouring to gain the hill; where the four hundred horſe he had ſent thither, made ſo good an appearance, that the prince of Parma, being more than ever perſuaded, that he only ſought to draw him to a battle, forbid his troops to advance, and made them all return to Aumale.

The king, on his ſide, reached Neuf-Châtel, where his wound obliged him to go to bed. The ſurgeons removed our fears and conſternation, by aſſuring us, that it was a very inconſiderable one.

He

He obliged us to come near his bed, and converſed with us familiarly upon the dangers of that day: upon which I obſerved, as ſomething very extraordinary, that amongſt us all, who were in the chamber, there were not two who agreed * in the recital of the moſt particular circumſtances of the action. In general, it paſſed as I have related: what appeared doubtful to me, I have ſuppreſſed; but as it is here, there are perhaps few kings whoſe lives † will afford ſo ſhining an inſtance of valour and good conduct.

THE prince of Parma's extreme prudence failed him upon this occaſion: it hindered him from cutting off our whole ſquadron, and finiſhing the war that day by the death or taking of the king: for the one or other was inevitable. But he was determined to undertake nothing till he was joined by the duke of Maïenne, not being willing to bear alone all the inconveniencies of a war, of which he was not to have the ſole advantage.

HE was not able to comprehend the cauſe of this delay in the chief of the league: the ſuſpicions he entertained of it made him ſuddenly change the march of his army, and take the road back again to the Somme. An action very pardonable in a fo-

* There is ſcarce any ſkirmiſh or battle of which as much may not be ſaid. Although there are a great number of writers, and even contemporaries, who have treated of the military exploits contained in theſe Memoirs, I cannot meet with two who agree exactly in theſe deſcriptions. D'Aubigné, in that of the encounter at Aumale, does not even mention the king's wound, which was the only one he ever received in his life. Matthieu, ibid. p. 100, and our beſt hiſtorians, differ but little from our Memoirs.

† Henry having ſent to the prince of Parma to aſk his opinion of this retreat, he replied, that "indeed it was a very fine one; but "that, for his part, he never engaged in any place from whence he "was obliged to retire." Peref. ibid. part ii. It was on this occaſion that Du-Pleſſis-Mornay wrote this excellent letter to the king: "Sire, in war you have been an Alexander: it is time you ſhould "now be Auguſtus: it is our glory and duty to die for you; and "yours I dare tell you, ſire, to live for France," &c. Notes upon the Henriade.

reigner, who ſaw himſelf in the midſt of a ſtrange country, where he alone was to ſuſtain the war. Henry, who, without conſidering what was glorious for himſelf in this laſt battle, called it only the error of Aumale, and being ſolicitous to repair this heroic error, could not reſolve to ſuffer the Spaniſh general quietly to retreat; putting off therefore the cure of his wound to another time, he again mounted his horſe, and harraſſed the prince continually, only regretting that he could not do more. But he had a politic general to deal with, who, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, preſented him always with an infantry in front, which he could not break through; and obſerved ſo prudent a conduct, that it was not poſſible, even at the paſſage of the river, to have an encounter with him. The king at length, quitting him at Pontdormy, returned to Neuf-Châtel, to have his wound cured, at the houſe of monſieur de Claire; where I was received as a friend and relation. I kept only a valet de chambre, a page, and a footman with me, and ſent all the reſt of my equipage to my quarters before Rouen.

The ſucceſs of the ſiege became more uncertain every day: at laſt the king was informed, by a courier, that Villars, at the head of two hundred muſketeers, and three or four hundred ſoldiers, had in the night made a furious ſally on the ſide of Darnetal; that he had penetrated even into the king's quarters, where he had cut all the German foot to pieces, and carried off ſix pieces of cannon, and all the powder; that afterwards, purſuing his advantage, he had fallen upon the trench, which he attacked behind; had killed there three or four hundred men, and put the reſt to flight: in a word, that he did not retire till he had deſtroyed almoſt all the works of the beſiegers.

This melancholy news recalled the king immediately to Rouen: he was there convinced, that this misfortune was wholly occaſioned by the marechal de

de Biron's fault; but although he looked upon it as irreparable, and hated this commander*, yet he took care to conceal his ſentiments. That irreconcileable averſion which the catholics of his party bore to the proteſtants, made them ſeize this opportunity to inſult the marechal de Biron, who, next to the king, was looked upon as the chief ſupport of the proteſtants. The catholics ſaid openly, that heaven would never favour Henry's party, while he continued a heretic (a reflection very unreaſonable and unjuſt, the ſucceſs he had hitherto met with conſidered;) that they expoſed themſelves to the divine vengeance by aſſociating with that reprobate body. From thence, animated by their zeal, they formed a deſign of taking up the huguenots, who had been interred indiſcriminately with the catholics, and leaving their carcaſes a prey to the crows. Two things hindered the execution of a deſign as contrary to religion as to nature itſelf: the difficulty of diſtinguiſhing the bodies, and fear leſt the proteſtants, who compoſed two thirds of the army, ſhould think their honour engaged to revenge upon the living catholics an outrage, which, through a zeal for religion, exceeded all others.

THE king, who perceived theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides, inſtead of blaming any particular perſon, or ſuffering a diſcontent to appear, which might increaſe the public broils, affected to ſay openly, that the misfortune was not ſo great as had been repreſented. In reality, it did not appear of ſuch conſe-

* There cannot be a ſtronger proof of the reſpect and deference which Henry IV. thought himſelf obliged to ſhew the marechal de Biron, than what this prince ſaid one day to Châtillon, on a certain occaſion, when this young man offered ſome very reaſonable advice, but contrary to that given by the marechal: "The goſlings," ſaid he, "would lead the geeſe to the paſture. When your beard is white, "perhaps you may have acquired ſome knowledge. I do not ap- "prove of your ſpeaking ſo freely; that belongs only to my father "here," pointing to Biron, who had threatened to retire. "We "muſt," purſued he, embracing him, "go all to his ſchool." Matthieu, vol. II. p. 16.

quence to the king as a diſcord in his army, which would either deprive him of all the catholics in his party, or, on the firſt opportunity, ſet one half againſt the other. It was a mortifying circumſtance for this prince, in the midſt of ſo many cauſes of diſquiet, to be obliged to keep all within his own breaſt, and ſubſtitute unworthy compliances in the place of abſolute commands: but he was not ignorant that the voice of authority, which has the power of ſubjecting all men, when it proceeds from a perſon diſtinguiſhed for his ſuperior abilities, has no effect upon minds by religion inflamed and diſunited.

He was perſuaded alſo, that after the misfortune occaſioned by ſuch bad conduct, nothing now remained to be done but to raiſe the ſiege of Rouen; and he ſought for a plauſible pretence for doing ſo, without awakening at the ſame time the public diſſenſions. He learnt, therefore, with great joy, that the prince of Parma, reinforced by the troops of the duke of Maïenne and Sfondrate, was returning haſtily to give him battle. He thought this a favourable opportunity to leſſen the ſhame of raiſing the ſiege, and to turn againſt the common enemy the fury of two parties which were rending his army in pieces.

That he might gain time to abandon his lines without confuſion, and regulate the order of his march, he ſent Givry to throw himſelf into * Neuf-Châtel, which the enemy would be obliged to take before they could come to Rouen. This, although a very ſtrong place, did not hold out near ſo long as was expected: the cauſe of which is difficult to be aſſigned; but the whole blame was caſt upon Palcheux, who was much weaker, and worſe ſuſtained, than Givry †. Although an old officer, and diſtinguiſhed by his actions and his wounds, he ſuſtained

* A city in the country of Caux.

† "Neuf-Châtel might have been taken in an hour's time," ſays F. Matthieu; who nevertheleſs, as well as the duke of Sully, blamed Givry for ſurrendering without making greater reſiſtance. Vol. II. p. 102.

all

all the violence of the ſtorm; and was put under arreſt at Dieppe, in my opinion very unjuſtly. The relations and friends whom the garriſon of Neuf-Châtel had in the party of the league, ſeemed to me to be the true cauſe that the place made ſo ſlight a reſiſtance. It ſurrendered in the middle of March. The king, by his care and diligence, repaired this misfortune, and brought off his troops from Rouen, without receiving the leaſt check†; and putting himſelf at their head, advanced without loſs of time to that ſide on which the prince of Parma was approaching the city.

On his arrival at a plain where the enemy's army muſt paſs, he waited for it; and, as ſoon as it appeared, ſent and offered the prince of Parma battle. The prince accepted it with a joy that was far from being ſincere: he was afraid of engaging with a general ſuch as he knew Henry to be, and of expoſing to the event of a battle the reputation of the greateſt warrior in Europe, which a long ſeries of great actions had acquired him amongſt his partiſans. Finding himſelf now in ſuch a ſituation as that he might be forced to fight, he had recourſe to one of the moſt artful ſtratagems imaginable to avoid it: he cauſed the beſt troops amongſt all his battalions to advance, and compoſed of them a front of battle; behind which he drew up, as without deſign, all his cavalry. Under favour of this front of infantry, in ſuch order as was uſual for an action, and ſeeming to wait only for the ſignal, all his cavalry, the remainder of his foot, and the whole baggage, entered into the defiles which ſerved for an outlet to the enemy's camp; and, covered by hills and buſhes, which the prince of Parma knew well how

† This ſiege coſt the king a great many ſoldiers: in thoſe times it was reported, that he loſt three thouſand men, and the beſieged only five hundred. The Earl of Eſſex challenged admiral de Villars to ſingle combat, who replied, that his quality of governor would not allow him to accept his challenge. See the Chron. Novenn. and Mezerai.

to take advantage of, they ſaw themſelves immediately out of reach of the king's army; who were ignorant of all that paſſed behind the camp. This front of infantry, which had no depth, taking the ſame rout after the others, in four and twenty hours all diſappeared; nor was it poſſible, on account of the ground being full of narrow ſtreights and necks of mountains, to diſorder the enemy's retreat, nor to engage with his rear-guard.

THE prince of Parma was extremely rejoiced, that, without the leaſt loſs, he had reached almoſt the gates of Rouen. He knew no perſon would be raſh enough to attempt to ſtorm him under the walls of this city: his deſign, therefore, was to ſtay there ſix weeks, which was a ſufficient time to refreſh his army in, and afterwards to march back to the Somme by Neuf-Châtel, Aumale, St. Valery *, and Pontdormy; confining all the expeditions of this campaign to the advantage of putting this capital, and the reſt of the cities that kept firm to the league, out of a condition to apprehend any thing from the king's army. Henry penetrated into this general's views; and laying aſide his deſign of making head againſt an army ſo advantageouſly poſted, ſuffered the prince of Parma to enjoy his triumph, and laid another ſnare for him. He diſbanded his whole army, as if it was now become uſeleſs to him, or that he was conſtrained to it by neceſſity. Part was diſperſed in Arques, Dieppe, Gournai, Andely, Giſors, Magny, and other diſtant places; and part had Mante, Meulan, and the adjoining places for its quarters: the reſt he ſpread about Pont de l'Arche †, Evreux, Paſſy, Vernon, Conches, and Bretuil, and fixed himſelf at Louviers. This conduct was ſufficiently juſtified by appearances: it would not have been long poſſible to have ſubſiſted a numerous

* St. Valery in Picardy.

† All theſe cities, as likewiſe the place above named, are in Upper Normandy.

army,

1592.

army, had he kept them together; but by the diſpoſition of his quarters, particularly the laſt, where he had diſtributed all his beſt troops, and the promiſe he had exacted from his officers to repair to Pont de l'Arche at the firſt order, it was eaſy for him to reunite his army in a ſhort time. This ſeparation, he did not doubt, would make the Spaniſh general perfectly ſecure, and furniſh him with ſome means of ſurprizing him, at leaſt in his retreat.

In effect, the prince of Parma, fearing that Rouen, ſurrounded by ſo large an army, would be in want of proviſions, repreſented to them that there would be no danger in ſpreading himſelf over the country, and made part of his troops advance to Ponteaudemer: d'Hacqueville‖ delivered up this city to him cowardly enough; and the king not only ſeemed to be indifferent about it, but alſo feigned ignorance of the enemy's deſign upon Caudebec, which greatly annoyed the city of Rouen; and neglecting to ſend ſupplies to la Garde, who was governor of it, ſuffered this place to be taken likewiſe. He obſerved, with extreme ſatisfaction, that the enemy, after theſe two conqueſts, drawn by the conveniency of lodgings and proviſions, extended themſelves along the Seine, below Rouen, as far as they could. The Spaniſh general, however, was not without ſuſpicion of ſome deſign in this inactivity, ſo unuſual with Henry; and probably, had he been the ſole commander of this army, he would not have hazarded ſo much. But his colleague, the duke of Maïenne, who was detained in Rouen by an indiſpoſition, aſſured him there was no danger; and he believed it, upon a ſuppoſition that he was better acquainted with the ſtate of the country.

The king, finding the enemy contributed of themſelves to ſerve his deſigns, reſolved to haſten

‖ —— de Vieuxpont, lord d'Hacqueville. He was gained, 'tis ſaid, by a ſum of money.

the execution of them. In leſs than eight days he aſſembled twenty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, with whom he ſpeedily advanced to Varicarville and Fountaine-lebourg. All the paſſages between Rouen and Caudebec he ſhut up, and began with revenging himſelf completely for the taking this place and Ponteaudemer, by cutting off from the troops, which were there, all communication with the body of the army, which put them wholly into his power. He afterwards went in perſon with ten thouſand foot, and three thouſand troopers, to attack the enemy's van-guard, commanded by the duke of Guiſe. The ſurprize into which his ſudden arrival threw this troop, gave him an eaſy conqueſt of them. The duke's ſquadrons were broke through at the firſt onſet, and he was obliged to fly with precipitation towards the body of the battalions, leaving, with a great number of the ſlain, all the baggage, which was very conſiderable, in the power of the victor.

The prince of Parma, ſtruck as with a thunderbolt at this news, applied himſelf wholly to ſecuring his other quarters, by placing the duke of Guiſe at Yvetot, and in fortifying the camp, in which he lodged his diſperſed troops, on all ſides. He was deſirous of quartering all the army there; but as this camp was too ſmall to contain it, he commanded the reſt not to remove far from it, to guard their poſt with great care, and to keep themſelves very cloſe. After this precaution, which he did not think ſufficient, to ſupport all the lodgments ſpread around his camp, he poſted three thouſand men in a wood which bounded them, fortified this wood all round with intrenchments, and joined it by a line of communication with the camp. The laſt ſtep the king had taken made him extremely formidable to the prince of Parma; but this prince thought to eſcape him by his great foreſight, and diligence in going wherever his preſence was neceſſary: he was

again

again miſtaken. The next day the king ordered the baron of Biron to attack the wood with a body of eight thouſand infantry, compoſed of an equal number of Engliſh, Dutch, and Germans, in order that they might be animated by emulation to excel each other, and cauſed them to be ſupported by ſix hundred troopers, completely armed. The attack laſted three hours; at the end of which the wood was carried. Thoſe who defended it, ſeeing themſelves broke through, fled in diſorder to the fortified camp, after having loſt eight hundred of their men. Their flight expoſed the greateſt part of the lodgments, particularly that of Yvetot, where the prince of Parma thought he had incloſed, as in a ſafe aſylum, the duke of Guiſe, with the ſame vanguard that had been ſo badly handled before. Henry, as if he had a perſonal hatred to the duke of Guiſe, haſtened to reconnoitre the quarter of Yvetot; and judging by the alarm, and the confuſed cries he heard there, that their conſternation was not yet over, he fell upon this quarter with four hundred muſqueteers and a thouſand foot, armed with piſtols and halberts, and attacked it in ſeveral places at the ſame time. The prince of Parma, who had not expected ſuch rapid exploits, ſaw his whole van-guard upon the point of being put to the ſword; and taking counſel only of neceſſity, ran thither himſelf, and vigorouſly ſuſtained our efforts, till the troops of this whole quarter had gained the fortified camp. He loſt there ſeven or eight hundred men, almoſt all private ſoldiers. The greateſt misfortune was, that in this action, wherein he behaved like a man who knew as well how to fight as to command, he received a very dangerous wound in the arm *.

* The little reliance one can have on the exactneſs of thoſe military details which the hiſtorians give us, is ſhewn particularly in this, in which I have obſerved a great many contradictions amongſt them, with regard to the encampments, and the number and date of the encounters. The author of theſe Memoirs relates all theſe expeditions in ſuch a manner, that he ſeems to allow but three or four days for

NIGHT approached before this battle was ended. The king, inſtead of taking any reſt after a day of ſuch extraordinary fatigue, employed the night wholly in preparing himſelf for greater advantages. Judging, therefore, that the enemy's army, numerous indeed, and covered with intrenchments, yet diſmayed, and half vanquiſhed, would keep cloſe within the camp, where their numbers would do them more harm than good, he heſitated not a moment in reſolving to ſtorm it. The readineſs and diſpatch, which governed all the actions of this prince, was in him not only the effect of nature, but the fruit of reading, in particular the lives of Cæſar and Scipio, whom he ſtudied preferably to all the conquerors of antiquity. He drew out in the night ſix pieces of cannon, which he directed againſt the fortification of the camp, that he might make uſe of them at the dawn of day. He viſited his whole army; and kept it in ſuch a diſpoſition, that it might at the ſame time and place be drawn out in order of battle. His commands were executed

actions which could not, and were not, performed in leſs than three weeks. He can no otherwiſe be juſtified, than by ſuppoſing that the intended to give a ſlight notion only of this campaign. D'Aubigné, either becauſe he was ignorant of the facts, or had no deſign to relate them minutely, gives room for the ſame miſtake, as our Memoirs, vol. III. b. iii. c. 15. It is in De Thou, Davila, Matthieu, Cayet, and the Memoirs of the league for the year 1592, that we muſt look for them; although, as I have juſt ſaid, their relations differ in many circumſtances. According to the Memoirs of the league, which, in my opinion, merit moſt to be credited, the king defeated the duke of Guiſe on the 28th of April, and another body of troops on the firſt of May: on the 5th attacked the fortifications before the camp; and on the 10th, at five o'clock in the morning, began the great attack, in which the prince of Parma received this dangerous wound, vol. V. De Thou will have it, that it was at the taking of Caudebec that the prince of Parma was wounded, and that he did not paſs the Seine till the 22d of May, b. ciii. Cayet is of the ſame opinion, vol. II. b. iv. p. 82, and following. Matthieu blames Henry IV. for not taking the duke of Maïenne priſoner at the ſkirmiſh of Yvetot, and, with as little reaſon, for avoiding a deciſive battle, p. 109. The king is by ſome others accuſed of ſtill greater faults, in being ignorant of the prince of Parma's preparations to paſs the river, and with not knowing how to prevent him.

ecuted with the greateſt exactneſs: his former ſucceſſes gave an authority to all his words, that made the moſt mutinous obedient.

HERE it is impoſſible to forbear praiſing the prince of Parma for a conduct, which, in my opinion, can never be ſufficiently admired. His camp lay between Rouen and Caudebec, at ſome diſtance from the Seine, over which, in all that ſpace, there was not any bridge; yet the next morning the whole camp was deſerted. All the troops, who indeed lay there in heaps one upon another, thoſe that were in Caudebec, and, in general, all that were ſpread about the neighbourhood of it, had tranſported themſelves to the other ſide of the river. Can it appear otherwiſe than a fable or an illuſion? Scarce could the king and his army truſt the evidence of their own eyes.

THE prince of Parma had foreſeen the king's reſolution to attack him in his camp the next day; and he did not doubt, after what had paſſed, but it would be ſtormed, and his whole army delivered up to the mercy of the victors. A foreſight uſeleſs, and only productive of deſpair, to any other, whoſe prudence had not beforehand provided a reſource: for notwithſtanding all the duke of Maïenne's repreſentations, he had not delivered himſelf up ſo entirely to that ſecurity he would have inſpired him with, as to neglect any means that might extricate him from danger, if it ſhould happen that he ſhould be one day obliged to engage with the enemy in a country where there were ſo few reſources, as on the borders of the Seine below Rouen.

THESE meaſures had been to provide himſelf ſecretly with all the boats he could find, which he cauſed to be brought near Caudebec. It was to this precaution, which few generals would have been capable of, that the prince of Parma owed the ſafety of his troops, and the preſervation of his glory, reputation, and perhaps his life. He cauſed theſe boats

to

to be laid over the river in the night; and notwithſtanding the diſorder of his camp, and the inconvenience ariſing from his wound, he gave ſuch good orders, that a bridge was built that very night, over which his whole army and baggage paſſed ſecurely. This we received particular information of the next day at Caudebec, which ſurrendered as ſoon as we approached. He only deſerves the reputation of a conſummate warrior, who, before a battle, is as cautious as if he was perſuaded he ſhould be conquered, and in it behaves as if he was ſure of conquering.

On the king's ſide, but one moment was loſt in aſtoniſhment: all the others were employed in taking ſpeedy meaſures to deprive the Spaniſh general of part of the fruits of his dexterity. Henry, after having well conſidered his attempt, and removed all doubts of ſucceſs from his own mind, held a council of war, and there propoſed to paſs his army over Pont de l'Arche, or at Vernon, and purſue the enemy immediately. Some of us, though indeed a very ſmall number, ſupported this propoſition as it deſerved. If it had been followed, this campaign had perhaps put an end to the war: but, as it ſhould ſeem, the prince of Parma, having performed actions that lifted him above humanity, obliged fortune now to come over to his ſide; for, upon the propoſal of marching the army to Pont de l'Arche, a cry was raiſed in the council, and a kind of general mutiny, as if the king had made the moſt unreaſonable propoſition imaginable. The catholics, the proteſtants, and foreigners, ſeemed to outvie one another in ſearching for difficulties to oppoſe it: they cried that the prince of Parma's army, being in a level country, might get to the gates of Paris * in four or five days;

* It is acknowledged by de Thou, that the king might have ſtopt this army, by ſending his cavalry to ſhut up the paſſage to Pont de l'Arche. It is with great injuſtice, as we find here, that he charges Henry IV. with this error.

whereas

whereas it would be as long before we could gain Pont de l'Arche. They repreſented to the king, that the way through which they muſt paſs being full of foreſts, mountains, and defiles, the army could reach the rendezvous but in ſmall diviſions; and that, although it ſhould have time to come up with that of the league, the fatigue of ſo troubleſome a march would make it impoſſible for them to attack it. In a word, they all treated this propoſal as a deſign equally ridiculous and chimerical.

THE king, more enraged at the ſecret intentions of thoſe who talked to him in this manner, than the purport of their diſcourſe, could not hinder himſelf from replying with ſome bitterneſs, That all theſe difficulties were only unſurmountable to thoſe, to whom fear and a diſlike of fatigue made them appear ſo. He convinced them they might reach Pont de l'Arche in two days, and Vernon in four, from whence they might continually ſend detachments of four or five hundred horſe to retard the prince of Parma's march; to which alſo the many obſtacles he would meet with would contribute, ſuch as the paſſage over the river of Eure; Louviers, Paſſy, Maintenon, Nogent-le-Roi, and Chartres, all being ſufficient to oblige him to go greatly out of his way: that the enemy had no bridge open to them but thoſe of Aquigny, Cocherel, Seriſy, and two or three others which lay out of their road; and that it would not be impoſſible to break or burn part of theſe bridges before the enemy arrived.

THESE arguments ſufficiently proved the king's propoſal to be practicable; and it may be ſaid, that the general officers, by refuſing to yield to them, reſiſted the ſtrongeſt conviction. And this naturally occaſions two reflections: firſt, how it happened that a prince, who in all his expeditions made uſe of mercenaries, picked up wherever he could find them, of different countries, manners, religions, and intereſts, often a very ſmall number, and always ready

dy to mutiny, ſhould be able to perform what is related of him in this hiſtory. The ſecond is, what this prince would have done, if, inſtead of ſuch troops, he had had a conſiderable number of well-diſciplined ſoldiers under his command, all united, obedient to his will, conſtantly attached to his perſon, and willing to ſacrifice their lives for him; in a word, ſuch troops as thoſe conquerors had, whoſe actions have been ſo highly extolled by poſterity? If theſe reflections are not made every time they offer, it is becauſe that is in every page: and, beſides, no one can be ignorant, that we ſhould judge very ill of merit and abilities by ſucceſs, if we did not at the ſame time judge of the ſucceſs by the obſtacles.

It is ſcarce poſſible to aſſign a reaſon for that invincible obſtinacy which the general officers in the king's army diſcovered upon this occaſion, in oppoſing ſo prudent a propoſal, unleſs it was owing to that diſpoſition of mind which I have juſt now mentioned. If a ſmall number of French proteſtants be excepted, whoſe fidelity was unqueſtionable, and moſt of the Engliſh troops, who ſeemed to act ſincerely with us, all the reſt of the king's army, proteſtants, catholics, and foreigners, ſerved him without affection, often unwillingly, and perhaps wiſhed more than they feared that he might ſuffer ſome conſiderable loſs. However, notwithſtanding this diſguſt to their leader, on ſome occaſions they all performed their duty, and ſeconded him bravely: ſuch had been the attack of the duke of Guiſe, the encounter at the wood, and the battle that followed it. Such would have been the attack of the prince of Parma's camp, if he had waited for us; for at that time all the king's operations, which he knew well how to give a dependence upon each other, were executed with ſuch rapidity, that he did not ſuffer their courage, when once heated, to have time to cool, nor their minds to return to their uſual habit of thinking. The behaviour likewiſe of a

ſmall

ſmall number of brave men is alone ſufficient to raiſe emulation in a whole army, and force it to follow their example, when they are once engaged: but this fierceneſs, and this ardour, abated, their former ideas return with greater violence, and are ſo much the more capable of embittering their minds, as they then become ſenſible that they have done the very contrary of what they intended. Unhappily the leaders of the royal army were in this unfavourable diſpoſition, when the king made a motion to purſue the prince of Parma. The catholics, who had a little time before publicly declared that they were reſolved to withdraw their aſſiſtance, if the king did not abjure calviniſm, within a certain time which they preſcribed to him, and reunite themſelves with the reſt of France, there to appoint a king of their own religion: theſe catholics could not reliſh a project, which, by making the king maſter of his enemies, would put him in a condition of giving them the law, inſtead of receiving it from them.

THE huguenots, who feared this change of religion as much as the catholics endeavoured to enhance the neceſſity of it, took umbrage at every thing, and always thought they were upon the point of being ſacrificed, while the king only ſacrificed himſelf to that neceſſity which obliged him to endeavour to gain the catholics. Through an apprehenſion that, by extirpating the league, they ſhould only labour for the catholics againſt their own intereſt, they the eaſier reconciled themſelves to circumſtances which would at leaſt make the balance even, and render them neceſſary: and, in caſe the king ſhould one day forſake their religion, they were reſolved to take ſuch meaſures before hand, as might make them be feared both by the catholics, and him whom they gave them for a maſter.

THESE precautions were, to procure a great number of towns to be yielded to them, to obtain ſuch favourable edicts, and ſo many other ſecurities, that the

the king, although a catholic, ſhould find it his intereſt to be well with them. It was towards this end that the duke of Bouillon, who governed abſolutely the reſolutions of the army, directed all his views, and to which he made the five or ſix hundred German horſe under his command ſubſervient. On the ſlighteſt occaſion of diſcontent, or rather on the firſt caprice, they broke into murmurs, and threatened, as they did then, that they would return immediately to Germany. The king, being obliged to behave in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy equally ſuch oppoſite parties, was greatly perplexed by his endeavours to ſtifle theſe ſeeds of diviſion: he was deſirous of avoiding an open rupture, or at leaſt of protracting it, till he ſhould be out of danger. It was this perplexity that reduced him to compliances very prejudicial to his affairs.

THERE is no maze ſo intricate as was the diſentangling thoſe intereſts which divided the different parties that compoſed the king's army. I have yet but touched upon the ſmalleſt part. The catholics, beſides their common object, had each of them his own private one in view, which was to make Henry purchaſe their perſonal ſervices at a very high price; and he was convinced, that without this ſatisfaction they would not bring affairs to a general concluſion. The intereſts of the French calviniſts were not entirely the ſame with thoſe of the foreign proteſtants. There were certain times when the Engliſh, who alone were united, murmured amongſt themſelves, that, in all the dangers they were expoſed to, they were actuated by a principle of generoſity, which, whatever turn affairs might take, would bring them no advantage; and, while this reflection employed their minds, they would look upon themſelves as madmen, who ſacrificed their lives purely to gratify the paſſions of foreigners, and demand leave to retire, as they did upon this occaſion, when they abſolutely refuſed to engage beyond the

the Seine, ſeeing neither any ſecurity or reſource for them in a country at ſuch a diſtance from the ſea. To exaſperate them more, and to ſtrengthen their ſuſpicions, the catholics ſeized thoſe moments of diſcontent to perſuade them, that the king's abjuration was become abſolutely neceſſary.

WITH regard to the other foreigners, who were paid for their ſervices, d'O, and theſe ſame catholics, had a ſecret equally ſhort and infallible, and they made uſe of it frequently: this was to keep the king in want of money. Therefore, when the Swiſs and German horſe were aſked if they would purſue the prince of Parma, they replied only by demanding their pay; ſwearing, that, if it was not inſtantly given them, they would return to their homes, or engage in the ſervice of the league.

EVEN the Spaniards, the king's declared enemies, had alſo their intrigues, and took part in this prince's affairs. At this very time they made a propoſal to him, not only to withdraw their troops, but even to lend them to him, to ſerve him againſt the league, in a word, to put the crown upon his head, provided he would yield Burgundy and Brittany to them for ever. In order to aſſiſt the king to ſubdue thoſe ſcruples which the making ſuch an extraordinary gift might raiſe in his mind, they recalled to his remembrance the example of Francis I. who, they ſaid, in a ſituation leſs preſſing, had given up to them the * ſevereignty of Flanders and Artois; and that of Henry II. who had given Spain more towns † than were contained in both thoſe provinces.

* By the treaty which was paſſed during the impriſonment of this prince at Madrid, the 25th of February 1526, Francis I. reſigned his claim there likewiſe to the duchies of Burgundy and Milan, to the kingdom of Naples, &c. but this treaty was declared void by the ſtates of the kingdom aſſembled at Cognac.

† By the treaty of Château-Cambreſis, in Jan. 1559, after the battle of St. Quentin, for three cities only of Ham, Châtelet and St. Quentin, France yielded to Spain and her allies more than an hundred and fifty fortified places. The conſtable Montmorency's jealouſy of the duke of Guiſe, and his eagerneſs to be freed from his confinement,

The king had ſufficient reaſon to believe that ſo unſeaſonable a negotiation was a piece of Spaniſh artifice, in the taſte of Hagemeau, which tended only to create more confuſion, and render him ſuſpected both by the proteſtants and catholics: but although this propoſition had been really ſincere, he had a motive for rejecting it infinitely ſtronger, which was the implacable hatred he bore Spain and the houſe of Auſtria.

At laſt even the league, for ſome view or other, entered into the reſolutions that were taken in the king's council. Villeroy, Jeannin, Zamet, and others, offered Henry, in the name of the league, to give him the crown upon certain conditions. It is very difficult to gueſs the true cauſe of this ſtep: whether diſguſt at the pride and inſolence of the Spaniards, an artifice to procure new ſupplies, or a deſign to alienate the proteſtants from the king. The only evidence of the ſincerity of this propoſition was the very hard conditions that were annexed to it: I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to enlarge upon this ſubject.

One of the leaſt conſequences of this chaos of views and intereſts was the ſpreading over every affair an impenetrable obſcurity, and creating in every mind jealouſy and diſtruſt. It is indeed ſurprizing, that after this the proteſtants and catholics could live together in the ſame camp, without expoſing the king to the grief of ſeeing them mutiny, or cutting each other's throats. Thoſe who in a prince ſought for what is termed policy, might here find ſufficient room to praiſe the prudence of a king who kept ſo many jarring intereſts united, and to admire his diſcernment in diſtinguiſhing thoſe who acted with fidelity towards him: nor ought it to paſs unobſerved, that ſo many ſecret and various deſigns left an appearance of order and tranquility. Falſhood aſſumed the ſemblance of truth, and enmity concealed itſelf

ment, made him conclude this treaty, at which the whole kingdom murmured.

under

under the diſguiſe of friendſhip. Thoſe who pretended the greateſt affection to the king, either betrayed him, or laboured only to advance their own intereſt.

It would be uſeleſs to diſſemble, that the marechal de Biron often played this game, either through malice at being refuſed the government of Rouen, or deſire of protracting the war ‖, or a diſpoſition that took pleaſure in creating diſcord and confuſion. He was never known to agree with the general opinion, or to yield to the king's inclinations. He always contradicted, either for the ſole pleaſure of contradicting, or becauſe he would oblige every one to embrace his opinion. In the council, when the queſtion that has occaſioned this digreſſion was debated, he was neither for purſuing the enemy, nor for ſtaying in Normandy: he thought it was neceſſary to go before and wait for the prince of Parma on the frontiers of Picardy, through which he would be obliged to paſs in his return to Flanders. A project uncommonly chimerical, which was immediately applauded by the proteſtants, who were devoted to the will of this marechal.

The king ſaw plainly, that all endeavours to retain ſuch diſcontented troops in his ſervice would be in vain. The campaign was drawing towards an end, and a ſiege ſo long and fatiguing as that of Rouen, made the ſoldiers extremely deſirous for reſt. The king was reſolved to grant it them: he followed that maxim, that a prince ſhould always have the appearance of doing voluntarily even what he was conſtrained to do. He told the foreigners, that he was willing they ſhould return home, and gave them permiſſion to do ſo. He diſtributed all the money he had amongſt them, leaving himſelf without any to ſupply his neceſſary expences: and though

‖ "What then, raſcal! wouldſt thou ſend us to plant cabbages "for Biron?" ſaid this marechal to his ſon, who propoſed to him an expedient to finiſh the war at one blow. Perefixe, part ii. ibid.

they

they were not wholly ſatisfied in this reſpect, yet they had reaſon to be pleaſed with the noble manner in which he praiſed and thanked them for their ſervices. As he had left Normandy in peace, and (except Rouen, and a few other cities) entirely reduced under his obedience; and as there was no reaſon to apprehend that the army of the league would come thither ſoon, he permitted all the officers of his army, as well catholics as proteſtants, to retire to their habitations: and, to lay the marechal de Biron under a neceſſity of not abandoning him with his proteſtants, which, after this permiſſion, he foreſaw he would do, he declared that he would follow his advice, and in a few days would ſet forwards to Picardy; not that he really entered into this marechal's views, but as he had not yet ſhewn himſelf in that province, nor in Champagne, he thought it neceſſary to make himſelf known there, and to endeavour to conciliate the affection of the people towards him. A ſecret * and more powerful motive contributed to favour and confirm this reſolution; and Biron, who knew and flattered the king's weakneſs, drew from thence his beſt reaſon.

* *

BOOK V.

WHILE the king with a few proteſtants purſued the road to Picardy, the prince of Parma haſtened to Paris, from whence, without any difficulty, he returned to Flanders, but little ſatisfied with his campaign, diſcontented to the laſt de-

* His paſſion for mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées. He ſometimes ſtole away from his army to go and ſee her. He once diſguiſed himſelf like a country man, paſſed through the midſt of the enemy's guards, and came to her houſe, not without hazarding the danger of being taken. Notes upon the Henriade.

gree

gree with the league, and its chiefs, and much troubled at a wound which he knew was incurable.

It is in general, and particular hiſtories, that a relation of all that was performed this year, and the preceding, in different parts of the kingdom, muſt be ſought for. The attack of St. Denis *, where the chevalier d'Aumale loſt his life; the taking Stenay and Dun, in Lorrain; the defeat of the ſieur d'Ambliſe, with the duke of Bouillon's † other exploits, either before or after his marriage; the loſs of the battle of Craon ‡; the defeat of the ſieur de la Guerche, and the blockade of Poitiers, are the principal actions, to which an infinite number of others in Provence, Dauphiné, and Poitou, may be added. From the departure of the prince of Parma, to the negociations which preceded the king's coronation, many things happened worthy of notice, and may likewiſe be found there. I have, in another place, excuſed my ſilence on theſe heads, and the liberty I allow myſelf of relating only the moſt important facts; among which are thoſe that regard the

* Claude de Lorrain, knight of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, having ſurprized this city at the head of a body of troops in the ſervice of the league, de Vic ran and beat them back. The chevalier d'Aumale was killed in this encounter.

† The duke of Bouillon took Stenay the ſame day that his nuptials were celebrated. Africanus d'Anglure d'Ambliſe, general of the troops of Lorrain, coming to attack Beaumont in Argonne, a city three leagues from Sedan, which the Duke of Bouillon had taken from the duke of Lorrain, Bouillon defeated his troops under the walls of this place, and d'Ambliſe was ſlain.

‡ This battle was fought before the city of Craon in Anjou, which was then beſieged by the royaliſt troops; they were compoſed of French, Engliſh, and Germans, to the number of 7 or 8000 men, commanded by the duke of Montpenſier, the prince of Conty, the duke of Damville, &c who were defeated by the duke of Mercœur at the head of the Spaniſh troops, and thoſe of the league. About the ſame time, George de Villequier, viſcount de la Guerche, attempting to paſs the Vienne, a river in Poitou, was defeated at the head of a ſmall body of troops of the league, and himſelf drowned in the river. See a relation of the blockade of Poitiers, and the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes before this city, in d'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. chap. 11. For all theſe expeditions conſult likewiſe the hiſtorians above cited.

count

count of Soiſſons, and the duke of Epernon; and even theſe the narration I have juſt made has not permitted me to enlarge upon.

THE count of Soiſſons ‖, after having abandoned the king's party, and been at open variance with him at Bearn, ſtill retained hopes of marrying the princeſs, his ſiſter, of whoſe affections he always remained maſter. By the death of Henry III. to whom he had laſt attached himſelf, he was left in the king's army, whom he ſerved without affection, and only till he had reſolved upon ſome new project, or till ſome opportunity favourable to his paſſion preſented itſelf. He thought he found one in the ſiege of Rouen, an enterprize, in his opinion, of too much importance to afford the king leiſure to employ himſelf in other affairs. He pretended to take a journey to Nogent, and, ſtealing away from the camp, went ſecretly, and with the utmoſt expedition, to Bearn, in order to accompliſh his marriage there unknown to Henry. But he was one of thoſe perſons, whoſe moſt inconſiderable actions were ſtrictly obſerved by the king. This prince penetrating into the count's deſigns, ſent ſuch orders there, that the count, upon his arrival at Bearn, found the princeſs Catherine indeed in the moſt favourable diſpoſitions towards him, and ſome ſay that ſhe had herſelf preſſed him to come thither; but it was quite otherwiſe with the council, to which the king, in his abſence, had committed the care of the province. The ſieur de † Pangeas, who was at the head of this council, oppoſed him boldly, ſhewed him the orders he had received from the king, raiſed the country upon him, and obliged him at laſt to return to France, with the diſgrace of having failed in his attempt; for which the count could take no

‖ Charles of Bourbon, ſon of Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, (ſlain at Jarnac) and of Frances d'Orleans-Longueville. He died in 1612.

† --- de Pardaillan de Pangeas, or Pangeac.

other

other vengeance on Pangeas, than by throwing him down a ſtaircaſe one day, when he met him in the king's apartments at Pontoiſe.

By theſe ſtrokes the count of Soiſſons's character may be eaſily underſtood; to finiſh the picture, let it be added, that there never was a more blind or more boundleſs ambition. To him every new event appeared to lead him a ſtep forwards to the attainment of his ends, and engaged him in new meaſures, which threw him at ſo much the greater diſtance from them, as he imagined he approached nearer. He himſelf knew not the object his wiſhes aimed at; reſtleſs, uneaſy, and jealous, his ambition was fed by every thing, and drew advantage from nothing. Nature had given him qualities quite contrary to thoſe of the king; he reſembled him neither in humour nor manners. The king was open, frank, and generous; the count of Soiſſons to a mind naturally reſerved, and incapable of a wiſe foreſight, added an affected moderation and deſpicable cunning. He endeavoured to impoſe upon the world an aſſumed ſeriouſneſs for an air of grandeur; laboured to appear impenetrable, and miſtook the frozen countenance which falſe gravity wears for reſpect. Pomp, and the oſtentation of grandeur, was his taſte: in a word, ambition had taken abſolute poſſeſſion of his heart, and his whole behaviour was made up of ceremony and formality. The near affinity this character bore to that of the Spaniards in general, was perhaps the ſource of that antipathy the king conceived for him, and which he could never ſurmount.

As for the duke of Epernon *, ambition was not his predominant paſſion; he was likewiſe actuated

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon, colonel general of France, governor of Guyenne, Metz, and the county of Meſſin. He died in 1642, aged 88 years; and, as the author of his life obſerves, he was the oldeſt duke and peer of France, the oldeſt officer of the crown, general of an army, governor of a province, knight of any order, and counſellor of ſtate, and almoſt the oldeſt man of rank in his time. They called him the king's wardrobe, be-

by an unconquerable pride; an inſolence, or rather a natural ferocity, that ſhewed itſelf in every word and action. Ambition, 'tis ſaid, makes uſe of various methods to accompliſh its deſigns. Epernon, regarded in this light, could not be an ambitious man, for he uſed only one, which was that haughtineſs by which he expected to carry all before him. In a word, ambition was, in him, but a natural love of independence, inſpired by a harſh diſpoſition, miſanthrophy, and a preſumption that made him conſider himſelf ſuperior to friendſhip and rewards. He hated the king, becauſe he hated the whole world; and, without doubt, there were moments when he was not well ſatisfied with himſelf. A conſtant diſobedience to his ſuperiors, an inſolent behaviour to his equals, and a cruel and inſupportable conduct towards his inferiors, make up the reſt of his character.

EPERNON, finding that his enterprizes had not the ſucceſs his pride had flattered him with, was obliged to alter his behaviour, and ſometimes, tho' but ſeldom, behaved courteouſly to thoſe whom

cauſe of the great number of poſts which he poſſeſſed in this prince's houſhold. There is recorded an excellent anſwer of his to Henry IV. who one day in anger reproached him with not loving him. The duke of Epernon, ſays his hiſtorian, without being ſurprized at the king's rage, anſwered coolly, but with great gravity, "Sire, your "majeſty has not a more faithful ſervant than myſelf in the king-"dom: I would rather die, than fail in the leaſt part of my duty to "you; but, Sire, as for friendſhip, your majeſty well knows that is "only to be acquired by friendſhip." The king, who equally knew how to admire great actions and ſpeeches of this kind, converted all his indignation into eſteem, &c. Life of the duke of Epernon, page 225. The character which is here given of him by the duke of Sully, is rather two diſadvantageous; however, it would not be eaſy to refute what he ſays: all the hiſtorians agree with him in charging the duke of Epernon with a boundleſs ambition, and his correſpondence with Spain is proved by ſeveral letters of the cardinal d'Oſſat. As for his extraction, "Patrem, ſays Buſbeq, habuit bello egregium, "avum tabellionem ſive notarium." Epiſt. 17. On the contrary, according to father Vaiſſette, he deſcended from William de Nogaret, famous for his quarrels with the pope in the reign of Philip le Bel. Conſult likewiſe our genealogiſts.

he

he might have occaſion for; but even his kindneſſes, if that phraſe may be allowed when ſpeaking of him, had a ſort of ſpleen and contempt in them: ſo that if he hated the world, he was equally hated by it; no one ſerved him from any other motive than fear, which was the cauſe that with great diſpoſitions for war, and in a ſituation which might have made them uſeful, he ruined his affairs. Provence and Dauphiné held for him, and for Valette * his brother. Theſe provinces, whoſe governor, before him, had been the grand prior †, the natural brother of their three laſt kings, deſpiſed him for his extraction, and hated him for his cruelty. They were rejoiced when Epernon (who when Henry III. was living would not remove far from the court) ſent them la Valette in his ſtead, who made himſelf beloved in Provence, and ſerved the king with fidelity. Henry III. becoming acquainted with the true character of his favourite, began to be apprehenſive of him himſelf; he diſgraced Epernon, and had thoughts even of putting him under an arreſt at Angoulême. La Valette, on this occaſion, loſt his government; but all was reſtored to them after the murder of the duke of Guiſe, which laid Henry III. under the neceſſity of ſtrengthening himſelf with every one whom he could engage in his party, at any price whatever. After the death of this prince, Epernon, whoſe vanity would not ſuffer him to obey the king of Navarre, quitted him at Pontoiſe, notwithſtanding all the inſtances he made him by meſſieurs de Bellegarde and Roquelaure to return, to which he condeſcended himſelf to intreat him. To oppoſe a king was a circumſtance highly flattering to his pride, and in his government of Provence he forgot nothing that might contribute to it: he was the firſt amongſt the nobility to ſign the king of Navarre's excluſion from

* Bernard de Nogaret, admiral of France.

† Henry, count d'Angoulême, ſon of Henry II. and of ---- Livingſton, a Scots lady.

the crown. It will not be raſh to judge, by Epernon, of the ſincerity of this plea of religion, with which it was then uſual to cover a deſign of reſtraining the lawful authority.

The remainder of the duke of Epernon's hiſtory will give a ſuperficial knowledge of the affairs of the provinces in the ſouth of France. He there experienced great reverſes of fortune: the two brothers aſſiſting each other mutually, were often worſted, and could not prevent three or four conſiderable parties from being formed in Dauphiné and Provence, which oppoſed them there, without reckoning one in each of the great towns, who endeavoured to make themſelves independent. The duke of Savoy *, and the duke of Nemours his brother, carried on intrigues there, and their party became very powerful, after the king of Spain had permitted the duke of Savoy, who was his ſon in-law, and whom he vigorouſly ſupported, to be acknowledged count of Provence, and hold this fief of his crown. In the midſt of their ſucceſſes, theſe two princes met with a formidable rival, who ſtopped their career, and reduced their party to ineffectual menaces. This was Leſdiguieres †, remarkable for his valour and good fortune againſt the duke of Savoy. He always continued faithful to the king, and could never be reproached with having appropriated to himſelf the fruits of his actions, nor of having coveted the ſovereignty of Dauphiné. Perhaps he only wiſhed that the king might long have occaſion for his aſſiſtance, and never come into this province. Meſſieurs de Montmorency, and d'Ornano ‡, gave great ſtrength to this party. The others were formed by the duke of Joyeuſe ‖, the counteſs of Sault, and the count

* Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. He died in 1630.

† Francis de Bonne, duke of Leſdiguieres, conſtable of France.

‡ Alphonſo d'Ornano, colonel of the Corſicans.

‖ Antony Scipio, knight of Malta, who took the title of duke of Joyeuſe after the death of his brothers. Chriſtiana d'Aguerre, counteſs

of Carces, with the ſieur de Vins. Lewis d'Aix and Cajoux, Ligny, Martinengue, and many others, raiſed tumults there and filled theſe countries with diviſions and ſlaughter; but their faction did not yet extend itſelf beyond the bounds of one city. La Valette was hardly able to ſupport himſelf longer in Dauphiné, when he was ſlain at the ſiege of a little inconſiderable town ‖. The duke of Epernon immediately invaded this government: for form's ſake he demanded letters patent for it from the king, who durſt not refuſe them to him; but, inſtead of quelling all theſe different parties, he went thither only to make a new one, upon which the king had as little reaſon to depend as any of the others. One may judge of this, by what paſſed at the ſiege of § Villemur, the only action which I ſhall give a particular relation of from memoirs, the authenticity of which I can anſwer for.

THE duke of Joyeuſe, a zealous partiſan of the league in Languedoc, having drawn together five or ſix thouſand foot, and eight or nine hundred horſe, in the neighbourhood of Toulouſe, advanced with them on the 15th of June, in the year 1592, towards Montauban, pillaged the little villages, and the flat countries, and after exerciſing all the cruelties uſual in thoſe miſerable times, came and laid ſiege to Villemur.

THE ſieur d'Ariat, after whom I relate theſe circumſtances, and the citizens of Villemur, had recourſe to Thémines *, who commanded for the king in that province, and intreated him to come immediately with powerful ſupplies to their aſſiſtance. Thémines, knowing he was not ſtrong enough, addreſſed himſelf to the duke of Epernon, and while

counteſs of Sault, baroneſs of Vienne. Gaſpard de Pontevez, count of Carces. Hubert de la Garde, lord of Vins. Charles de Caſaux, &c.

‖ Roquebrune in Provence.

§ A city of Languedoc.

* Pons de Lauſiere de Cardailiac, afterwards marechal of France.

he waited for the reinforcement the duke promiſed to give him, ſent a detachment of ſmall bodies of cavalry and foot, which got into Villemur with great difficulty, the troopers on foot, becauſe their horſes could be of no uſe to them, the city was ſo cloſely invironed. Joyeuſe was ſeverely puniſhed for the error he was guilty of there, as we ſhall ſee preſently. This error was the attacking the town itſelf, inſtead of beginning with the caſtle, which, although much ſtronger in appearance, was in reality the weakeſt. Without doubt he was not ſufficiently acquainted with the place, or had a deſign to make uſe of the magazines of corn, and other ammunitions, of which he knew it was full.

EPERNON ſent indeed a conſiderable body of troops; but as he had given them orders to act but faintly, and particularly to avoid hazarding much in fighting, theſe troops, although great expectations were raiſed by them, minded nothing but recreation, abandoned their poſts, and by their bad example did more harm than good to the other royaliſt ſoldiers. Joyeuſe, who did not want courage, eſpecially when he was to act in perſon, finding the occaſion favourable, and perhaps doubtful of the duke of Epernon's deſigns, fell upon his ſoldiers, ſurprized them, and would have made a great ſlaughter, if Thémines had not run thither time enough to ſave the remainder; he could not, however, prevent ſeven or eight hundred from being ſlain. There needed no more to make Epernon* recal them abſolutely. Thémines afterwards ſtrongly ſolicited both him and the marechal de Matignon for aſſiſtance, but in vain; and all he could do was to throw

* All this is ſo poſitive, that it may ballance the authority of de Thou, who mentions this fact very favourably for the duke of Epernon, and that of the author of this duke's life, who maintains that his ſoldiers drove thoſe belonging to the league from Villemur, and put this place into a ſtate of defence, p. 134. The Chronologie Novenn. agrees here with our Memoirs, book iv. p. 63. as likewiſe the Memoirs of the league, vol. V.

himſelf

himſelf into Villemur, with d'Ariat, two hundred and fifty arquebuſiers, and about a hundred or a hundred and twenty troopers, to ſupport the beſieged, whom Joyeuſe preſſed more vigorouſly than before. He obliged Reiner, who was lord of it, but who was grown too infirm to perform the duties of a governor upon this occaſion, to go out, and reſolved to defend himſelf there till the laſt extremity, being aſſured that the king, whom he acquainted with his ſituation, would not ſuffer him to periſh.

In effect, this prince wrote inſtantly to the dukes de Montmorency and d'Epernon, to ſend him ſupplies. Epernon, accuſtomed to diſobey, gave no attention to this order; but Montmoreney ſent him Lecques † and Chambaut, with ſome brave proteſtant troops. Theſe were ſtill too few in number to oppoſe the army of Joyeuſe, lately reinforced by the inhabitants of Toulouſe: Lecques, and Chambaut, therefore, had recourſe to Meſſilac, lieutenant for the king in Auvergne, and to the viſcount de Gourdon, as remarkable for his courage and fidelity as for his deformity. Theſe two officers marched immediately to the aſſiſtance of Villemur, with eight hundred arquebuſiers, and two hundred and eighty horſe. Joyeuſe ſent to offer them battle, which they refuſed, warned by the misfortune which had happened to Epernon's troops, and ſolicitous only to accompliſh their firſt intention. After this refuſal, the beſiegers cavalry, who found themſelves too much ſtraitened in their lines, demanded permiſſion of Joyeuſe to remove into the neighbouring villages, which this general granted with ſome difficulty, and contrary to the opinions of the ſieurs d'Onous and Montberaut. He obliged the officers to give their words, that upon the firſt ſignal which ſhould be made them, they would return to the camp.

Messilac, Lecques, and Chambaut, perceiv-

† Antony Du-Pleix, lord of Lecques.

ing that this removal of the cavalry had extremely weakened the army of the beſiegers, divided their whole foot into four bands, to each of which they added fifty troopers, whom they cauſed to diſmount. A regiment of eight hundred men was drawn up in battalia within view of the intrenchments, with orders to charge on a certain ſignal. Four hundred men attacked the firſt intrenchment, and were ſupported by the four troops. The guard there uſually conſiſted of no more than two hundred foot; but Joyeuſe, who had ſpies amongſt us, being informed of the deſigned attack a few moments beforehand, ſent thither four hundred men more, and at the ſame time made the cannon fire three times, which was the ſignal agreed upon with his cavalry. It happened, that either through ſlackneſs in obeying on their ſide, or eagerneſs on that of the proteſtants, this cavalry did not come up till after the action was begun. Our men advanced before ſun-riſe, and falling upon the firſt intrenchment, laid a hundred of thoſe who defended it dead upon the ground; the reſt fled towards the ſecond intrenchment, and carrying thither only their fears, this, though much better than the firſt, was likewiſe ſtormed with conſiderable loſs.

THEMINES beholding all within the walls, ſeconded the aſſailants, and made ſo ſeaſonable a ſally, that he completed the rout of the beſiegers. Their cavalry ſhewed themſelves that moment at the head of the camp; but inſtead of putting a ſtop to this confuſion, they no ſooner perceived the eight hundred men, which compoſed the body of reſerve, with three hundred horſe puſhing againſt them, than they followed the example of the reſt of the army, and ſought for ſafety in flight. Their terror increaſing every moment, it ſoon became a general rout, which it was not in the power of Joyeuſe to prevent. Dragged along himſelf with the fugitives, he gained a bridge of planks and ropes which he had ordered

ordered to be thrown over the Tarn. The number of thoſe who haſtened thither, on this ſide, overcharging this bridge, it ſunk under Joyeuſe, and he and all that were with him were ſwallowed up in the river. Fear had ſo blinded the reſt of the troops, that ſtill imagining they ſaw a bridge where none now was, they plunged into the waves where it had ſtood. More than three thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe periſhed on this occaſion, either by the ſword or the water. A prodigious loſs for an army ſo inconſiderable, whereas the royaliſts loſt only thirty men. The citizens of Villemur beheld this aſtoniſhing ſpectacle from the top of their walls, with a joy mingled with wonder and horror; which made them compare an effect of fear, which had the appearance of a miracle, with that which the ſacred hiſtory relates of the Egyptians at the paſſage of the Red-ſea. But to return to the king.

THIS prince went into Picardy, and in order to give employment to his troops, ſent the marechal de Biron to beſiege Epernai. The ſiege was long and obſtinate; Biron was ſlain there by a cannon ball *. And if the king, who during that time ſtaid at Compiegne, had not reſolved to ſhew himſelf before this city, they would have found great difficulty in taking it. He defeated ſome powerful ſuccours that were endeavoured to be thrown into the place, and obliged it at laſt to ſurrender.

HIS funds failing him entirely, he was obliged, after this expedition, to diſband the remainder of the foreign troops. He continued ſome time longer in his quarters, upon the report that was ſpread of the prince of Parma's having returned into France

* Which took off his head. He was almoſt as famous for his learning as his abilities in war. De Thou greatly regrets the loſs we have had of his Commentaries. He commanded in chief in ſeven battles, and every wound he received in theſe battles made a ſcar. He was godfather to cardinal de Richlieu, who was named after him. The city of Gontaut, in Agenois, gave its name to this family. See the panegyric of this marechal in Brant, vol. III.

to execute the great projects he had formed againſt the king. The death of this brave general * happened very fortunately for Henry, who ſaw himſelf not in a condition to oppoſe ſuch an enemy. The Spaniſh army, having loſt its leader, diſperſed. The time that was taken up in appointing his ſucceſſor, gave the king leiſure to breathe again; he drew near Paris, and thought of nothing but taking advantage of the Spaniards removal.

I DID not attend the king in his journey to Picardy; I went to Mante, where finding madam de Châteaupers in a diſpoſition favourable to my love, I married this lady, and our nuptials were celebrated the ſame day that the prince of Parma †, with his army, paſſed through Houdan.

To confeſs the truth, the king's politics were not to my taſte. I ſaw with pain, that the exigency of his affairs laid him under the neceſſity of complying with every deſire of the catholics, while the proteſtants were neglected; and after the departure of the foreign troops, which gave their rivals many advantages over them, their aſſiſtance was of no

* At Arras, in the abbey of St. Vaaſt. The Spaniards were accuſed of having poiſoned him through jealouſy, but the wound he received in Normandy the year before, joined to the bad make of his body, was the only cauſe of his death, as was acknowledged when he was opened. Cayet, ibid. 90. See in De Thou, book civ. a panegyric on his great qualities. His body was carried through Lorrain to Italy attended by 160 horſe, capariſoned in black. He was no more than 48 years of age. He complained of being twice poiſoned by the Spaniards, if we may believe d'Aubigné, who aſſures us, that the Italians were ſo fully perſuaded of it, that from that time they could never endure the Spaniards, vol. III. b. iii. chap. 28. And this alſo is the opinion of Bongars, book xlix.

† This could not be till the 23d or 24th of May, as the prince of Parma did not paſs the Seine till the night of the 21ſt or 22d of that month. Here then is a miſtake either in the New Journal of Henry III. printed in 1720, (where in the 271ſt page, the duke of Sully's marriage is obſerved to be celebrated on the 18th) or in the Memoirs of Sully. The baron de Roſny's ſecond wife was called Rachel de Cochefilet, daughter of James lord of Vaucelas, and of Mary d'Arbaleſte. She was firſt married to Francis Huraut, lord of Châteaupers, and Marais, who died in 1590. She ſurvived the duke of Sully, and died in the year 1659, aged 93 years.

con-

conſideration. I had, in particular, often experienced the effects of their hatred or jealouſy, from whence I concluded, that I ſhould never be able to advance my fortune. I was likewiſe diſguſted with the king's behaviour towards me; his coldneſs, though I knew it to be feigned, had ſuch an appearance of a total eſtrangement, that I determined to quit war, and retire to my eſtate, there to live far from buſineſs, and the tumult of life.

THE event juſtified the king's prudence, and I was the firſt to come over to his opinion, and to give him advice very oppoſite to my former ſentiments; but then I ſaw things with other eyes. The reflection on all that the proteſtants and myſelf had endured; the little conſideration I appeared to be then of, and ſomewhat of that general diſpoſition of mind which always dictated the intereſt of religion, formed all my reſolutions, and were the foundation of that ſyſtem I built for the king, and which at that time ſeemed to me to be the only reaſonable one. I would have had this prince, doing juſtice to thoſe who had ſerved him with zeal and affection, to have refuſed all other aſſiſtance, and caſt himſelf entirely in their arms. I was perſuaded that after ſuch an open declaration of his dependence upon the proteſtants, England, Holland, and all the proteſtant powers in Europe, would exert themſelves ſo effectually in his favour, that they would ſoon, without any aſſiſtance from the catholics, ſeat him upon the throne. In this, as in every thing elſe, the king's underſtanding was ſuperior to mine. He knew, from the firſt moment, that a kingdom, like France, was not to be gained by foreign hands; and although it had appeared even poſſible, yet it was the hearts of the French, rather than their crown, that this good prince ſought to conquer. And he would have thought the rewards which, on that occaſion, he ſhould be obliged to beſtow upon the authors of his

elevation, to their prejudice, to have been an encroachment upon their lawful rights.

My laſt motive for retiring was, that a little after I arrived at Mante, the wounds in my mouth and neck, which I had received in that unfortunate rencounter at Chartres, opened again, and obliged me to go to Roſny to be radically cured, to prevent the fatal conſequences which generally attend wounds of that nature. I continued there ſome time: after a life ſo tumultuous, as that which, till this moment, I had led, I taſted, with higher reliſh, the ſweets that retirement offers to a heart detached from ambition. I amuſed myſelf there with writing the events varied by good and bad fortune, to which I had been expoſed for the ſpace of twenty years.

Buhy *, the king's lieutenant in the Vexin, came one day to viſit me, and informed me that the king had written to all the governors to draw together what troops they were able, and to come immediately to his aſſiſtance; for it was about this time that they were in expectation of the prince of Parma's return into France; and Buhy therefore aſked me, if I would not, upon this occaſion, do as others did. This queſtion recalled the remembrance of the many governments which I had requeſted, and had been denied to me; and, laſtly, the poſt of one of the king's lieutenants, which the duke of Nevers, and the catholics had hindered me from obtaining, in a very haughty and inſulting manner. I anſwered this officer, with ſome emotion, that if the king had had any occaſion for my ſervice, he would have done me the honour to write to me. Buhy found ſomething of anger in my reply, and, like a good courtier, exaggerated it, when he repeated it to the king, and gave him to underſtand, that he ought no longer to have any dependance on me, for I had reſolved to ſpend the reſt of my days in the country. This cir-

* Peter de Mornay de Buhy, brother of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay.

cumſtance

cumſtance was added by himſelf; for I did not eſteem Buhy ſo much as to make him my confidant. "His "diſpoſition then is greatly altered," replied the king immediately, "for he never failed to be preſent "on ſuch occaſions as are now approaching. Al- "tho' he excuſes himſelf on account of his wounds, "I know well enough what detains him; he is of- "fended with me, and not without reaſon. He "would play the philoſopher for the future; but "when I ſee him, I ſhall be able to make all up "again; for I know him thoroughly.

THIS converſation paſſed in the preſence of the preſident † Seguier, who dined with me ſome time after, and related it to me. Having freely diſcloſed my moſt ſecret thoughts to this great magiſtrate, whom I knew to be my friend, an honeſt man, and an excellent politician, he anſwered me in theſe words, which I ſhall never forget, becauſe they firſt opened my eyes, and removed my prejudices. "Sir, "you appear to me to be touched with reſentment. "We live in a time when tranquility is very diffi- "cult to procure. The wiſeſt amongſt us are "ſilent, and patient, in hopes of more favourable "days, and the king is ſo prudent, and ſo virtuous, "that God has, no doubt, reſerved our reſtoration "for him."

FROM that moment, finding no other inconveni- ency from my wound, than a little difficulty in ſpeaking, I began again to ride, and followed by fifty horſe, I made excurſions over the great road of Verneuil and Dreux to Paris, in order to reſume my former occupation, which I perceived was again likely wholly to engroſs me. In the ſecond of theſe journeys, one day when I was riding towards Dreux, between the villages of Marolles and Gouſſainville, I met ten or twelve men on foot, who, the moment they ſaw us, ſtruck into the woods with which that

† John Seguier.

country

country abounds. I followed them immediately, and ſeized two of them who had not quitted the great road. Theſe were peaſants who were returning from Paris, whither they had been to ſell their poultry. I aſked them ſome queſtions, and they anſwered me very ingenuouſly; they told me, that it was their cuſtom to travel in the night, to avoid the inconveniencies they were expoſed to in thoſe roads in the day, but that they had taken courage this once, having nine or ten perſons in their company, amon whom they ſaid were three domeſtics belonging to meſſieurs de Mercœur, de Medavy, and de Vieux-Pont.

THERE needed no more to make me purſue theſe three men, whoſe myſterious journey excited my curioſity. It was impoſſible to overtake them; my people could only ſeize two others of thoſe that were of Verneuil, from whom finding I could draw nothing by threatenings, I made uſe of another method. I gave them four crowns, and promiſed them more, if they would tell me all they knew concerning thoſe three domeſtics. They deſired me to follow them, and led me directly to a large hollow oak, ſurrounded with thickets, where they told me theſe ſervants had ſtopped, and put ſome papers into the trunk of this tree: in effect, I found there two tin-boxes, and a ticking ſack, which ſeemed to me to be full. This acquiſition conſoled me for the meſſengers eſcape; and after rewarding the two men, I returned to Roſny, very impatient to open my packets.

THEY appeared to be ſuch as I wiſhed: in the firſt I found commiſſions from the duke of Maïenne to levy ſoldiers, ſeveral letters written in cyphers, in the general's own hand, to the duke of Mercœur: but papers more important engaged all my attention; they related to the third party, which was then beginning to be talked of, and amongſt which I found two memorials that ſeemed to be of the utmoſt conſequence. The firſt was a memorial of the demands

mands which the preſident Jeannin * made upon Spain, in the name of the duke of Maïenne; and the ſecond contained the anſwer given to theſe conditions by the arch-duke Erneſt for the king of Spain. All the reflections imaginable could not throw ſuch light upon the duke of Maïenne's deſigns, the ſpirit of the league, and the politics of Spain, as the contents of theſe two pieces: of which this is an extract.

THE duke of Maïenne ſubmitted the league to the pope, and put it under the king of Spain's protection, upon the following conditions, which regarded the party in general, as well as himſelf in particular. Firſt, that the king of Spain ſhould furniſh, and maintain in the ſervice of the league, an army of ſixteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; in which army there ſhould be two thouſand foot, and five hundred troopers, all French, of whom the duke of Maïenne was to have the ſole diſpoſal, beſides four thouſand foot more, and five hundred horſe, French likewiſe, who were to continue near his perſon only, and to be maintained by Spain: That the number of theſe troops ſhould be augmented as occaſion required: That the duke of Maïenne ſhould have the chief command of theſe troops, and thoſe of the party, with the title of lieutenant-general of the crown, till a king of France was elected: That this election ſhould be made in a general conference, by which they certainly meant the ſtates of the kingdom: That till this election was made and confirmed, the penſion which Spain already paid to the general ſhould be augmented to as much more, that is, from thirty thouſand livres a month, to ſixty, beſides a hundred thouſand crowns, which he ſhould receive immediately, and a hundred thouſand livres after the ratification of the treaty; in expectation of which, they ſhould begin, by putting him in actual

* René Jeannin, baron de Monjeu, preſident of the parliament of Dijon.

poſ-

poſſeſſion of Burgundy: That after the nomination of the future king, the duke of Maïenne ſhould be continued in the government of the ſtate, with the title of lieutenant-general; and that then, and not before, he ſhould yield up the city of Soiſſons to the Spaniards, becauſe it was at preſent the only place of ſecurity he had for himſelf in France: That if he found inſurmountable obſtacles, either in the election of a future king, probably from the king of Navarre, or in the invaſion and keeping of Burgundy for the duke of Maïenne, the king of Spain ſhould make the duke amends, by an annual penſion of three hundred thouſand livres, for the poſſeſſions he might loſe in France; which penſion ſhould never be leſſened or taken away, whatever agreement might be made between the king of Spain and the acknowledged king of France, but be continued to his heirs for ever: That Spain ſhould cancel all the duke of Maïenne's debts, or thoſe of the king elected with the conſent of this crown, if he was a native of France: That they ſhould give ſuitable rewards to the other principal officers of the league; theſe were not expreſſed, either becauſe the duke of Maïenne was leſs ſolicitous about the intereſts of others than his own, or that he thought this article would be eaſily ſettled, becauſe, if money was wanting, the lords might be ſatisfied with penſions, dignities, or governments.

SUCH were the demands of the chief of the league, in which, as we have ſeen, he did not forget himſelf. For all this, he offered the king of Spain (beſides the crown, which, although he was not mentioned, could only be deſigned for a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, ſince the duke of Maienne ſeemed to exclude himſelf) he offered, I ſay, a certain number of towns, for whoſe names, as well as that of the future king, were blanks; thoſe that Spain might take being to be reſtored to the French catholics, under the protection of the king of Spain and the duke

duke of Maïenne. All was calculated for the ſecurity and caution of Spain, till the election of a king, without any further explanation; which proves alſo, that they thought this election would ſufficiently indemnify this crown; at leaſt that they wanted, by this inſinuation, to flatter it with hopes, in order to procure an immediate and effectual aſſiſtance from it. What gave riſe to this ſuſpicion was, their care in inſiſting upon, and often reſuming, the following clauſe: That till all theſe articles were agreed to at Madrid, for which they allotted the ſpace of a month, Spain ſhould firſt begin by ſending a powerful ſupply into Burgundy, which they ſaid was in great danger. The more to haſten the reſolutions of this court, the duke of Maïenne, who throughout the whole treaty ſhewed himſelf to be a faithful ſervant (although a little intereſted) of the houſe of Auſtria, proteſted coldly, that if theſe conditions were not thought advantageous enough for Spain, ſhe might turn to whatever ſide ſhe pleaſed, for he was weary with bearing the burden, and wiſhed for nothing more than to be eaſed of it.

But this was only a feint; he had to do with a council who would not ſo eaſily change, and who underſtood their intereſt ſtill better. To this memorial the arch-duke anſwered, in the name of the king of Spain, That his majeſty was well pleaſed with the title of Defender of the league, and would look upon himſelf as chief of the party: That they ſhould find him always ready to grant them whatever ſupplies they demanded againſt the king of Navarre, and even more than they demanded; for he agreed to ſend into Picardy alone the nineteen thouſand men formerly mentioned; it is eaſy to ſee with what deſigns, this province bounding the Low Countries; beſides thoſe which he offered to ſend into different parts of the kingdom. He did not ſeem to be ſo much alarmed on account of Burgundy as the duke of Maïenne, probably becauſe the council of Spain diſcovered

covered that this general, who had demanded the poſſeſſion of this province, would be glad that the troops ſhould be all employed there. Upon this article, he only granted wherewithal to raiſe a thouſand German foot, and to maintain three hundred horſe. He added, however, that if the whole force of the war was turned againſt this province, his catholic majeſty would not refuſe to ſend a conſiderable number of troops there; and without doubt, in this he meant to keep his word.

As to what regarded Maïenne in particular, his catholic majeſty appeared much leſs liberal. Of all the articles this was the moſt reduced: he would make no addition to the penſion of thirty thouſand livres a month; and would grant him but, and that only while he continued in perſon in the army, two thouſand foot, and five hundred troopers. Upon the other articles he was ſilent. With regard to thoſe places which might be ſeized, Spain conſented that the duke of Maïenne ſhould keep what he had taken, provided ſhe was allowed to do the ſame: ſhe would not relinquiſh her demand of Soiſſons, and was abſolutely reſolved to have this city for a ſecurity for thoſe advances ſhe made in this war; ſhe promiſed only to reſign it after the election of the king: this nomination appeared ſtill uncertain to Spain, who gave them to underſtand, that if ſhe was ſatisfied with it, every thing might be expected from her gratitude, but beforehand ſhe would riſk nothing. For this purpoſe, all the other articles were left unanſwered, and a new one was added, which was, that the duke of Maïenne ſhould remove certain perſons from about him, who, doubtleſs, did not ſupport the intereſts of Spain with the French general; their names were not written; but it was ſaid, that they had been ſignified by word of mouth to the agent for the treaty. Such were his catholic majeſty's diſpoſitions, who by attending only to his own intereſts,

tereſts, and reſolving to ſell his aſſiſtance very dear, followed exactly the duke of Maïenne's example.

THE reading of theſe papers left no room any longer for reſentment in my mind; and thinking them of great importance to the king, I haſtened immediately to Compiégne. I found time and abſence had not altered his ſentiments with regard to me. I had half an hour's private converſation with this prince, to whom I related in brief the occaſion of my journey. The examination of theſe papers was deferred till the evening of that day, when, all the courtiers being retired, I was introduced into the king's apartment, and remained there ſhut up with him. After his majeſty had ſent for Beringhen and Choirin, to decypher the greateſt part of the papers, from them we learned whom the third party was compoſed of, which as yet had been only mentioned in whiſpers, and had been formed even in the court, and ſupported and directed by the abbé * de Bellozanne, the two Durets, and I believe the abbé Du-Perron; all of them dependents of the count of Soiſſons and the cardinal of Bourbon, and particularly attached to the laſt. In all appearance, theſe perſons were the authors, and at firſt the only promoters, of this faction, which was afterwards joined by meſſieurs de Nevers, de Longueville, de Villeroy, d'O, and the reſt of thoſe catholics who were in the court, who valued themſelves upon being too good Frenchmen to ſuffer the Spaniſh dominion, and too zealous for the Roman religion to conſent to have a proteſtant king. The count of Soiſſons ſome time after joined theſe gentlemen; and it was reported, that, inconſtant to his former miſtreſs, he was ſeveral times upon the point of marrying mademoiſelle de Longueville. They had aſſumed the

* John Touchard, abbot of Bellozanne; Lewis Duret, lord of Chevry, phyſician; and Charles Duret, counſellor of ſtate, intendant and comptroller-general of the finances, and preſident of the chamber of accompts.

name

name of politicians, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the royaliſts and leaguers, and to ſhew that they regarded the good of the ſtate, and the preſervation of the rights of the crown, beyond every other conſideration. Their principal view was alike to exclude every foreign prince, the duke of Maïenne, and the king of Navarre, from the throne. The bulk of the party knew no more: but the leaders, who were maſters of the ſecret, thought of nothing but getting rid of the two laſt by the ſword or poiſon †; after which they might, without any difficulty, make the cardinal of Bourbon king ‡, and not to diſoblige Spain entirely, procure a diſpenſation for him to marry the infanta.

When this project is compared with that of Jeannin, it is matter of ſurprize, that papers which contained ſuch oppoſite ſchemes ſhould be found in the ſame packet. Without ſeeking for the reaſon of it in the ſecrets of Providence, which by preſenting the king, at one and the ſame time, with all the plots that were formed againſt his perſon, ſeemed to ſuggeſt to him ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary to prevent them; it is my opinion, that it may be found in the different intereſts of thoſe perſons who correſponded together, and ſome from a great diſtance, ſuch as the duke of ‖ Mercœur, without any other motive than that common hatred they bore to the king, which gave birth to a thouſand chimerical deſigns, and delivered them up to thoſe hints which darted into their minds, without any other fixed and determined object than that of excluding the king of Navarre. In ſuch a confuſion of ſentiments, it is not

† This accuſation is to be met with in no other writer, and is of the number of thoſe which the author ought not to aſſert without giving likewiſe a proof.

‡ His name was Charles, he was the third ſon of Lewis I. prince of Condé, and Eleanora de Roye. His other brothers were, Henry, prince of Condé, Francis, prince of Conty, and Charles, count of Soiſſons.

‖ Philip Emanuel of Lorrain.

ſur-

ſurprizing, that he ſhould by the ſame means meet with ſuch oppoſite ſchemes.

I CONTINUED three days at Compiégne, in which time I had ſeveral conferences with the king, who appeared to be ſenſibly affected with the deſigned attempts againſt his perſon, becauſe he had flattered himſelf, that his conduct would have ſuppreſſed ſuch thoughts. He ſent me to Mante, perceiving that my endeavours to ſpeak in theſe converſations might open my wounds. I received from this good prince all the marks of a tender and unbounded confidence. At parting, he deſired me to obſerve carefully every motion of his enemies, and to prepare myſelf to give him good advice on his arrival at Mante, being reſolved, he ſaid, to regulate his behaviour in ſo difficult a conjuncture wholly by my directions. He ſtayed no longer in Picardy than was neceſſary to make ſome proper diſpoſitions there, and ſet out for Mante. This city he preferred to any other, becauſe by its ſituation it was beſt fitted to diſcover and overthrow the different cabals of his enemies, at a time when the intrigues of the cabinet were likely to ſucceed the operations of war. His council was already there, and he cauſed the princeſs, his ſiſter, to be conducted thither alſo. After the diſcovery this prince had juſt made of the plots that were laid againſt his life, it would have been the greateſt imprudence imaginable to have neglected any precautions neceſſary for his ſecurity. He doubled his guards, placed in Limay, which is the ſuburb of Mante, a body of Engliſh troops, whoſe affection to him was unqueſtionable, and reſolved to hold all the world ſuſpected, ſince he was convinced that thoſe perſons whom he had admitted to his councils, his table, and his pleaſures, were capable of forming the moſt violent reſolutions againſt him.

IF of all the favours that a prince (as eſtimable for the qualities of his mind as for the greatneſs of his actions) could gran , eſteem and tenderneſs are thoſe

thoſe which have moſt effect upon a man of honour, how much am I obliged to this prince, who honoured me in particular with his confidence at a time when infidelity, treachery, and all that intereſt could ſuggeſt to ſubjects who had exalted this idol in the place of love to their king, had left him no other part to take than that of a general reſerve and diſtruſt. Nor can I forbear to add (for why ſhould I omit a circumſtance which of all others ſeems moſt likely to procure me the eſteem of truly virtuous perſons?) that in a conjuncture ſo delicate, this prince was reſolved to reſign himſelf wholly to my direction, and to me confide his deſtiny and crown*, for without

* If we may believe de Thou, Gaſpard Schomberg, count of Nanteuil, Lewis de Revol, ſecretary of ſtate, and himſelf, contributed to fix Henry IV. in his reſolution of changing his religion. There is not a hiſtorion who aſcribes it to any one particular perſon; they do not even ſeem to have thought of Sully in this affair, which however does not invalidate the truth of what is aſſerted in this part of his Memoirs, that it is chiefly, and even in ſome manner wholly to him, the honour of it is due. Tacitus tells us, that Auguſtus, after having deprived one of his chief miniſters entirely of his favour, permitted him ſtill to have the appearance of enjoying it: with regard to the duke of Sully, it was quite the contrary, for he already was in abſolute poſſeſſion of his maſter's favour, while no one ſuſpected it. And that which is moſt remarkable in their hiſtory is, that a long time after this miniſter's favour with the king was known, by his being in poſſeſſion of the firſt employments in the kingdom, even until his maſter's death, in public the king behaved to him with the utmoſt circumſpection; while in private, never were familiarity and confidence carried farther between a king and his ſubject. Hence it was, that in ſome hiſtories of Henry the Great, the authors of which, without penetrating into the ſecrets of the cabinet, contented themſelves with repreſenting only the public face of affairs, the name of Roſny is never mentioned, and that of Sully, ſo well known to writers better informed, very ſeldom, conſidering the part Sully played during the ten or twelve laſt years of this prince's life. Incomprehenſible as this reſerved and myſterious conduct appears, thoſe who reflect upon the ſituation of affairs in thoſe times, together with the religion of the duke of Sully, will comprehend, without any difficulty, the neceſſity the king and his maſter were under, to obſerve this conduct, and never to depart from it. Nor is this one of the leaſt inſtances of the prudence and abilities of theſe two great men. I thought it neceſſary to make this obſervation once for all. "Roſny," ſays Matthieu the hiſtorian, vol. II. page 278. "had a long time a "ſhare

me he undertook not the ſmalleſt affair, perſuaded that the advice of a man actuated by a ſincere attachment to him, and (if I may uſe the expreſſion) a true friendſhip, ought to be preferred to penetration and ability, when they are joined with a doubtful fidelity. Nothing ever gave me ſo pure and noble a delight as the honour of ſuch a diſtinction: but after having reſigned myſelf up to it ſome moments, I perceived the weight of that burden I was loaded with, and trembled amidſt my joy, leſt my weakneſs and incapacity ſhould engage me in ſome falſe ſtep that might prejudice, not me, for on thoſe occaſions ſelf, I believe, is leaſt in one's thoughts, but the prince who had laid it upon me.

FROM this moment, all thoſe precautions the king made uſe of for the ſafety of his perſon, I alſo obſerved in the advice I was going to give him. I prepared myſelf for it by the moſt ſerious reflections on the ſtate of the neighbouring kingdoms in general; and on that of France, of the parties into which it was divided, and of the king, in particular. I conſidered, that if in ſuch employments as mine, one cannot even be guilty of unintentional faults, without deſerving ſome reproaches, we draw thoſe reproaches upon ourſelves when we act according to the dictates of paſſion. This reflection led me to ſtudy carefully my own diſpoſition, and the bent of my inclinations, and convinced me of the neceſſity of beginning with obliging my own heart to ſubdue and forget itſelf. A ſerious review of my paſt conduct ſhewed me the injuſtice of thoſe complaints which I ſuffered frequently to eſcape me againſt the king's behaviour to me and the reſt of the proteſtants. I ſearched into the ground of it, and I ſoon found it in that common prejudice, that to be worthy of the religion one profeſſes, cruelty, perjury, and deceit,

" ſhare in the king's moſt important affairs; and from the time of " Henry III. was one of his moſt intimate confidants," &c.

ought

ought to paſs for nothing, provided one can ſecure the ſucceſs of it. I ſuppreſſed theſe ſentiments, equally injurious to the author of religion, as dangerous to him who makes uſe of ſuch unworthy means: and when I declare, that there was nothing I more diſtruſted than thoſe ſnares which the zeal of religion might lay for me, I ſhall be eaſily believed, if the advice I gave the king be attended to.

When I was thus certain of myſelf, I the leſs feared to carry my views into that impenetrable chaos of different intereſts, and into future events, which offered, on every ſide, nothing but frightful precipices. Muſt the miſeries of France be perpetuated by giving arms, perhaps, for more than an age, to two parties in religion, then almoſt equal? Muſt a prince, who ſo well deſerved to be happy, wear away his whole life amidſt the horrors of a war, which till then had not given him time to breathe; and, if I determined upon this, prepare for him labours infinitely greater than all he had yet endured? On the other hand, ought I to expoſe the whole body of proteſtants in France, who ſought only juſtice and peace, to become victims of human policy, and deliver them up to the ſnares of their moſt cruel enemies; and while uncertain of the event of the war, and at a time when the king might be ſuddenly taken off, ought I to bring things to ſuch an extremity, that France might, perhaps, become a prey to Spain, and to all her neighbours, or diſmembered by a thouſand tyrants, loſe in one moment the glory of her name, the luſtre of her monarchy, and the ſucceſſion of her kings? What miſeries to be expected by a war? what ſnares to be dreaded in a peace? how many dangers to be apprehended on all ſides? Was it poſſible to take any reſolution, when alarmed by ſo many inevitable evils?

But the greateſt danger was the not fixing upon any reſolution at all. At laſt, when all was thoroughly examined, it ſeemed neceſſary to prefer that

that which would put an end to the civil war, reſtore tranquility to France, ſubmit it to a good king, and put it in a condition to take vengeance on its foreign enemies: I mean that reſolution which might the moſt effectually remove the preſent inconveniencies, and procure time to bring a remedy for thoſe that were to be apprehended. In one word, I reſolved to prevail upon the king to embrace the Roman catholic religion*, and to perſuade him to it by degrees. I was ſenſible, that by this means I ſhould give diſguſt to two ſorts of perſons, the proteſtant neighbours of France, and the French calviniſts. But as to the firſt, France, when united with itſelf, had no occaſion for any foreign aſſiſtance: and it was eaſy to give the ſecond ſuch advantages, as would make them behold this change without murmuring. With regard to both, I depended upon that gratitude which a prince like Henry could not fail of having for perſons to whom he owed ſuch powerful obligations.

THESE reflections wholly employed my mind from the moment I left Compiegne, and I was ſtill abſorbed in them when the king arrived at Mante. The firſt thing he did, was to ſend for me to come to him with the uſual precautions. Jaquinot introduced me into his chamber before day, and we immediately entered upon our ſubject. Henry, who on his ſide had made a thouſand reflections on the perplexing ſituation he was in, began by drawing a very natural repreſentation of it; irreconcileable intereſts in the princes and nobility of the kingdom; hatred amongſt themſelves, and rage againſt him; mutiny and diſobedience in all minds; inactivity in the foreign allies; intrigues and animoſity on the part of the enemies; treachery within; violence without; rocks and precipices on all ſides. The end of this pathetic diſcourſe was to demand what remedy I was able to apply to theſe evils.

* The duke of Sully would then find his ſalvation as much forwarded by the romiſh as the proteſtant religion.

I REPLIED that, without taking upon me to give his majeſty advice, I ſaw only three things for him to do, and he might determine upon which he pleaſed. The firſt was to ſatisfy every one's demands at his own expence, or rather at the expence of the ſtate; the ſecond was not to make conceſſions to any, but to endeavour to wreſtle vigorouſly with them all; the third, which held a medium between theſe two, was to take away all obſtacles that oppoſed his advancement to the crown, by turning Roman catholic. The king then told me, that what I had ſaid to him was my opinion only, and commanded me to tell him plainly what I would do in his place. I endeavoured to make him comprehend the full extent of the three different methods I had propoſed to him, by examining them one after the other. I made him perceive, that by following the firſt, he would reduce himſelf to nothing, and that if there was a neceſſity to gratify wholly the rapaciouſneſs of Spain, and the French leaguers, he would ſcarce out of ſo great a kingdom keep a few provinces for himſelf. As to the ſecond, I repreſented to him, that as ſoon as he would give room to believe, that he depended only upon the claim his birth gave him to the crown, the deſertion of all the catholics, and the unbridled fury of a whole nation of enemies both within and without the kingdom, would draw upon him a terrible ſtorm. The inconſtancy of fortune, and the uſual reverſes of war, although this prince had not yet experienced them, found their place in this reflection. As to the third, I was ſilent, only telling the king, that being a proteſtant myſelf, I could ſay nothing upon this ſubject.

WHILE I was ſpeaking, I perceived the perplexity into which the preſent conjuncture had thrown the king, to increaſe every moment. I did not doubt, but the review of all the difficulties would bring him to the point I deſired. I was ſure that he would not pauſe one moment upon the firſt of my propoſals. I knew

knew him too well to believe him capable of agreeing to an accommodation which would leave him only the ſemblance of a king, a ſubject or dependant upon Spain, or reduced at laſt to a ſmall part of France. It was the two others only that embarraſſed him. On one ſide, he ſaid, by continuing in his religion he ſaw united againſt him all the princes of his blood, the nobility of the kingdom, and thoſe that were at the head of all affairs, and the finances, ſuch as meſſieurs d'Epernon, de Nevers, de Longueville, de Biron, d'O, de Rieux*, de Villeroy, de Manou, de Châteauvieux, de Vitry, d'Entragues, and de Sourdis. It would be too tedious to mention them all. He ſaw them ready to reſolve upon forming againſt him a body independent of the league, or, what was moſt probable, and likewiſe moſt dangerous, to unite themſelves with the league, and deprive him of the poſſibility of aſcending the throne. On the other, he objected the complaints of the dukes of Bouillon and la Tremouille, and the outcries of the proteſtants whom he was going to abandon; thoſe who were ſo dear to him, and from whom he had ſo long drawn his only aſſiſtance. He repreſented them as paſſing from diſcontent to a reſolution which deſpair at being ſacrificed by an ungrateful prince would inſpire, which was to elect another leader, canton themſelves out in France, and oblige him to turn his arms againſt them. He ended with theſe words: "I can never uſe them ill, nor declare war "againſt them, for I ſhall always love them." This ſentiment, which diſcovered a ſenſibility ſo ſeldom to be found in the hearts of princes, moved me extremely. I thanked him, in the name of all the proteſtants, by bending upon one knee, and kiſſing his hand. The reaſons with which this prince op-

* René de Rieux, lord of Sourdeac. John d'O, lord of Manou, brother to the ſuperintendant. Lewis de l'Hôpital, lord de Vitry. Francis Balzac, lord of Entragues. Francis d'Eſcoubleau, marquis of Sourdis. Joachim de Châteauvieux.

poſed his change of religion, and the manner in which he delivered them, were what alone diſſipated my apprehenſions, and confirmed me likewiſe in the opinion, that no other remedy could be applied to the preſent evils. I told him, that meſſieurs de Bouillon and de la Tremouille, and all of merit and diſtinction in the calviniſt party, would not be ſo unreaſonable as to take arms againſt him, for a reſolution which neceſſity only had forced him to embrace, when he continued to treat them with that eſteem and reſpect which was due to their perſons and ſervices. I explained all my thoughts on this ſubject to the king, and added, that the foundation of all religions which believe in Jeſus Chriſt, being eſſentially the ſame; that is, faith in the ſame myſteries, and the ſame notions of the divinity, it ſeemed to me, that one who from a catholic became a proteſtant, or from a proteſtant became a catholic, did not change his religion, but followed, for the intereſt of religion * itſelf, that which policy ſuggeſted as the moſt proper means to compoſe all differences: but although my opinion ſhould be erroneous, yet this muſt be allowed to be an inconteſtible truth, that the embracing the catholic religion did not include the neceſſity of perſecuting all others; on the contrary, that God

* Add to theſe words of the duke of Sully what he ſays ſome pages before, and what has been obſerved a little higher, where he ſpeaks of the duty and authority of kings in religious matters; it may be determined, that he was a calviniſt without rigour, and conſidered all religions as indifferent which agreed in eſſentials. It is thus, that the author of the MS. which I have quoted in the preface of this work, ſpeaks of it, and it is even the chief of thoſe arguments which he makes uſe of to juſtify the duke of Sully for having given to Henry IV. ſuch advice, as, without this, would agree but ill with the laws of conſcience and natural rectitude. "It being his opinion," ſays he, ſpeaking of the duke of Sully, "that the king might as eaſily work "out his ſalvation in our religion as in his own, he offered no great "violence to his conſcience, in perſuading him to this change; on "the contrary, it was effectually ſerving the ſtate, nay, chriſtianity "itſelf, without hurting his reputation." Happily, Henry the Great did not adopt the neutral opinions of his miniſter, as he himſelf confeſſed very ſincerely.

perhaps

perhaps diſpoſed the king to this change to give a new example to Europe, and one more worthy of religion itſelf: That the difference of religions had long produced the moſt tragical effects in France, and was a perpetual ſource of diſorders and calamities, by the averſion with which it inſpired people againſt thoſe of a contrary faith from their own, which was equally the caſe with the proteſtants as well as catholics. I told the king, that he might cure this dangerous evil, by uniting thoſe who profeſſed theſe different religions in the bands of chriſtian charity and love; or, if this was impoſſible, preſcribe to them rules ſo juſt, as might make both parties contented with what was granted them. I did not doubt but this prince would be influenced by that ſingle thought of immortalizing his memory, by reſtoring peace, plenty, and ſecurity, to a kingdom waſted with inteſtine diviſions, and of meriting, by the uſe of thoſe abilities he had received from heaven, the glory of giving happineſs to France, after ſhe had begun to deſpair of it, and to look upon her wounds as incurable. I am certain, that this motive was more intereſting than that of his own quiet; which, however, I did not forget: and I obliged Henry tacitly to confeſs, that his ſpirits, after being exhauſted, if I may uſe the term, with war, demanded a ſituation leſs turbulent, and more tranquil.

THE ſtrongeſt proof of the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the arguments I uſed upon this occaſion, was, that the king, who poſſeſſed that happy ſagacity of diſtinguiſhing immediately the truth or falſhood of any poſition, confeſſed to me that my diſcourſe had penetrated to the bottom of his heart, which, he added, ſtill reſiſted ſtrangely, but that he believed he ſhould follow no other advice. In effect, at the end of three days, he had taken his reſolution, and he now only endeavoured to remove the difficulties which remained. Some of theſe regarded his own opinion; for as ſincerity and rectitude were fixed in

his heart, and regulated all his words and actions, I am perſuaded, that there is not any thing which could have prevailed upon him to embrace a religion which he inwardly deſpiſed, or even doubted of. A prince who had never deceived mankind, could have no intention to deceive his God.

THE other difficulties related to the leaders of the proteſtant party, whom the bare propoſition of changing his religion would not fail to make revolt, as well through fear, as a point of honour. He aſſembled them, and addreſſing himſelf, to the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them, which were monſieurs de Bouillon, de Sancy, Du-Pleſſis, de Salignac, de Morlas, de Conſtans, and Salettes*; I alſo being preſent. He told them (with an intention to ſound their inclinations) that he had brought them together to know their opinions upon what he had to communicate to them. He ſaid he had received certain advices, that Bellozanne, and the two Durets, agents for the third party, had had an interview with Villeroy and †

* —— Salettes was preſident of the parliament of Pau, and counſellor of ſtate at Navarre. Morlas, his natural ſon, was member of the privy council, counſellor of ſtate, and ſuperintendant of the magaſines of France. They were both converted. Henry IV. when he was informed of the death of Morlas, who was a man of great merit, ſaid, "I have loſt one of the wiſeſt men in my kingdom." Chron. Novenn. book viii. p. 545.

† After having diligently collected all that the moſt judicious of our writers have ſaid concerning theſe two men, of whom the duke of Sully ſpeaks ſo diſadvantageouſly in many places of his Memoirs, I think I may be able to aſſure the reader, with abſolute certainty, that, on one ſide, their great and only object was to preſerve the catholic religion in France, by excluding the king of Navarre from the throne, till he abjured calviniſm, or to force him to abjure it; and, on the other, to prevent the effect of the Spaniſh policy, the deſign of which was, either to deprive the royal family of the crown, or to diſmember the kingdom. Theſe are clearly proved to be the views of Villeroy, by the conduct he obſerved in the conference at which he aſſiſted, by the advice he frequently gave to the duke of Maïenne, not to confide in the council of Madrid; by the reſerve with which that chief of the league communicated to him his ſecret deſigns; by the account of the preſident Jeannin's negotiations in Spain; by the behaviour of both in the ſtates of Paris, and ſtill more by the hatred the Sixteen bore them. Their prudence, their moderation, and their abilities in regulating affairs, made them the ſoul of the party, even in oppoſition,

Jeannin, and that it was agreed upon to unite all the forces of the league and the other catholics againſt him; that the time which the catholics had ſo often threatened him with was now come, for they were going to abandon him entirely; their common deſign being now to place the cardinal of Bourbon upon the throne, to marry him to the infanta of Spain, and to endeavour by all poſſible methods to rid themſelves of his perſon. That the cardinal, indeed, had expreſſed great reluctance to comply with this laſt propoſition, but, by all appearances, they would ſoon gain his conſent, when they convinced him, that the crown could by no other means be ſecured to him. He conjured them to tell him ſincerely what they thought he ought to do upon this occaſion, eſpecially upon the deſertion of the catholics, which would reduce his party to the laſt extremity.

By the noiſe and confuſion this declaration raiſed in the aſſembly, it would ſeem that all thoſe who compoſed it, having never made any reflections upon what might happen, incapable of conducting their deſigns prudently, of keeping one determined object in view, or of preſerving any ſincere attachment to the king, had till then thought only of living from day to day; of gaining time, and profiting by their maſter's abilities for war. They could never agree, nor form any reſolutions fit to be approved of. They did not know whether to wiſh for peace, or continue the war. One ſaid, that there was nothing to be done but to reſume their arms, and riſque all at one caſt. Another was of opinion, that by arreſting eight or ten of the principal catholics, who were not yet upon their guard, particularly the contrivers of

oppoſition, if one may ſo ſpeak, to the party itſelf: without them this party, actuated by a blind and furious paſſion, would have plunged the ſtate into abſolute ruin. Conſult Matthieu the hiſtorian, vol. II. page 66, 69, 86, &c. Chron. Novenn. book ii. &c. De Thou. Memoirs of Nevers. Villeroy's Memoirs, &c. See alſo what has been ſaid upon this article in the preface to this work.

the plot, they might prevent the execution of it. Others more moderate, or perhaps more doubtful, contented themſelves with ſaying, that it would be neceſſary to accommodate matters by negotiations, without adviſing how. I took this hint, and by annexing it to ſome reaſonable expedients, carried all the votes for a negotiation. They were not ignorant that I had ſome influence over the count of Soiſſons, and that I had free acceſs to the cardinal of Bourbon. This cardinal often ſaid in public, that although I was a huguenot, there was no perſon in the world for whom he had ſo ſtrong an inclination as me. I offered to uſe my mediation with theſe two princes, to prevail upon them not to liſten to the perſuaſions of the king's enemies; and the better to enſure ſucceſs, I promiſed I would endeavour to gain their dependents and counſellors, eſpecially the abbot de Bellozanne, the Durets, confidents to the count of Soiſſons, and a lady called madam des Roſieres, an intimate of the cardinal's.

No perſon oppoſed this advice, doubtleſs becauſe the proteſtants, who had heard the declaration, ſenſible they were too weak actually to renew hoſtilities, thought that at preſent there was nothing better to be done. The king, on his ſide, was not ſorry at its being unanimouſly voted by the proteſtants, that he ſhould addreſs himſelf to the princes of the blood, and hold a commerce with the catholics of the league. According to my plan, I began with the abbé de Bellozanne. I knew that jealouſy had made him the ſecret enemy of the Durets, and believed that by taking him on this ſide, confirming him in his hatred, and flattering him with having ſhortly the chief part in all affairs, I ſhould bring him to my purpoſe. I introduced myſelf with telling him, that I was come to thank him, in the name of the king, for having in his favour ſo generouſly oppoſed the attempt of the Durets, which could only proceed from the rectitude of his heart, and his good-

will

will towards the king, which his majeſty, although he had but a ſmall acquaintance with him, eſteemed as he ought: ſo that he might expect the moſt convincing proofs of his affection, which would certainly be the procuring him a cardinal's hat, or at leaſt, one of the richeſt benefices in the kingdom, when thoſe rewards were in his power, by his change of religion, which was likely to happen very ſhortly.

THIS introduction, which flattered his vanity extremely, gave me occaſion to enter, as if undeſignedly, into the ſecret proceedings of the Durets, which I pretended to be well informed of, in order to learn them from him, and to engage him to oppoſe them more abſolutely. In effect, I had ſcarce dropped a few words on this ſubject, when my man, giving way to his inclinations, fell ſeverely upon the Durets, and ſpoke ſo much to their diſadvantage, that I fell into the other extreme, and believed that he was induced by his hatred of them to accuſe them falſely. The hint of the cardinal's hat and the biſhopric producing its effect, Bellozanne pretended to feel the zeal for the king's ſervice, which I had affected to attribute to him. He endeavoured to perſuade me, that he would oppoſe the violent reſolutions of the catholics, whoſe intrigues and views he informed me of. I flattered myſelf for ſome time, that I had brought over this man to the king; but rogues ſoon reſume their natural character. Immediately after he had made this proteſtation to me, he made one quite the contrary to the cardinal of Bourbon, and afterwards to Villeroy and Jeannin, to whom he repeated all the converſation he had juſt held with me. If he drew advantage from his treachery, by the increaſe of favour it procured him, I, on my ſide, perhaps, made better uſe of it for the king, than if he had kept the ſecret: beſides, finding means from thence to inform theſe gentlemen of the king's diſpoſition to embrace their religon, which drew them ſecretly towards this prince, Bellozanne's impru-

dence produced likewiſe another good conſequence, which was the inſpiring them with a deſire of ſupplanting each other in their endeavours to acquire his favour. I willingly therefore pardoned Bellozanne's double knavery, and even drew a third fruit from it, with regard to the Durets.

THESE gentlemen, perceiving the honour Bellozanne had gained by the new ſecrets he had diſcloſed to his patrons, and the increaſe of favour they had procured him, were the more ready to hear the propoſitions I went afterwards to make them. I told them, the king, offended at the knavery of Bellozanne (which in reality he was, becauſe he had carried it ſo far as to give umbrage to the proteſtants) would have no commerce for the future with a man ſo little to be depended on, and was diſpoſed to make uſe of them in the meaſures he would ſhortly take. I confided ſome papers to their care, the reading of which I was certain would have a wonderful effect. This was the ſcheme for an agreement between the league and Spain, and the anſwer in conſequence of it, which they had no knowledge of, and which I ſhewed to them that moment. This was a mortifying ſtroke for them; they thought themſelves deſpiſed, and the project ſo reaſonable as to fear it might be executed, and affairs brought to a concluſion without their participation; which to theſe ſort of men ſeems the greateſt of all misfortunes. They heſitated not a moment in offering me earneſtly their ſervices for the king. The change of religion, which I had alſo inſinuated to them, ſeemed to remove all the oppoſition that could be made to this prince. They were charmed at being employed in a ſcheme, the intention of which appeared to them more happy than that which the duke of Maïenne had propoſed to Spain: or rather there remained no other part for them to take, after the advantage Bellozanne had juſt gained over them. In effect, they kept

kept the ſecret better, and laboured in it to more purpoſe.

I APPLIED myſelf afterwards to the abbé Du-Perron *, who by his character, his fame, and his eloquence, had more power with the cardinal of Bourbon, when he wanted him either to take or change a reſolution, than all the artifices of Bellozanne and the Durets. We had been acquainted a long time, and he had received ſome favours from me. I concerted my diſcourſe beforehand, as having to do with a man for whom eloquence, great ſentiments, and deep reaſoning, had powerful charms †; and I introduced into it as much or more of politics and worldly views, as of religion. My brother, the governor of Mante, was preſent at this converſation, when after having ſlided into my diſcourſe ſome mention of the king's future abjuration, I undertook to prove to Du-Perron, that except Spain and ſome turbulent perſons in France, it was the intereſt and advantage, not only of France, but of all Europe, that the king of Navarre ſhould aſcend the throne, and poſſeſs the kingdom in the ſame extent, and with the ſame power, which had been enjoyed by the kings his predeceſſors.

I BEGAN with the pope. I told Du-Perron, that he who had ſo perfect a knowledge of the court of Rome, knew better than any other perſon, that Clement VIII. now in poſſeſſion of the holy ſee, was neither ſo violent as Sixtus V. nor ſo mutable as Gregory XIV. That the pope conſidered the preſent affairs of Europe and chriſtianity in a clear and impartial view. That it was not his intention, by breaking the neceſſary balance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, to ſubject France to Spain,

* James Davy-Du-Perron, afterwards biſhop d'Evreux, and then cardinal: he will be mentioned hereafter.

† The duke of Sully's character of the cardinal Du-Perron ſeems more conformable to truth, than that given him by Joſeph Scaliger, who treats him only as a babler, *& ſtultiloquus*, or *locutu levis*.

becauſe he was not ignorant of any of the views of this laſt power for univerſal monarchy. That the pope would in this find not only his intereſt as common father of the catholics, but alſo his temporal intereſt in particular, becauſe Italy and the patrimony of St. Peter would ſoon follow the deſtiny of France, and the other kingdoms; and the pope would be in danger of ſeeing himſelf one day reduced to the quality of chaplain to the kings of Spain. That beſides, his holineſs had too much judgment not to open his arms to a king, as ſoon as he ſhould expreſs his deſire to be received there, without troubling himſelf about that mighty phraſe a relapſe, with which fools only were affected.

THERE was ſtill leſs difficulty to be apprehended, with regard to my propoſition, from the other crowned heads of Europe; I therefore did not dwell long upon them, that I might be at liberty to reſume the converſation upon Spain. I aſked the abbé Du-Perron, if he did not agree with me in the opinion, that thoſe deep politicians who gave riſe to all the diſorders in France, began to deſpair of the ſucceſs of the great project they had formed to conquer all France, and this upon the knowledge they had, as well of the king and the proteſtants in his intereſt, as of the French catholics. Could the king of Spain ever ſeriouſly intend to make a Spaniſh province of France, and flatter himſelf that his domination would be endured by a people, who had always emulated and hated Spain? Of all this there was already more than bare ſuſpicion.

BY the king of Spain's conduct it was plain, that he imagined the dukes of Maïenne, Guiſe, and Mercœur, ſought only to make him their dupe; nor had he a more favourable opinion of the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, whom he ſaw make uſe of his troops and money without ſhewing any greater reſpect for him. One convincing proof that theſe were the real ſentiments of Philip was, the propoſitions he had made,

made, and often renewed, to the king of Navarre, by D. Barnardin de Mandoce, Moreau, and the count de Taxis: for, in reality, this prince ſeeing that all he could pretend to from the troubles in France was, at the moſt, the poſſeſſion of two or three of its provinces, it was of little conſequence to him, whether he obtained them from the king or the league. It is true, that if he divided France amongſt the chiefs of the league, he gained hopes of one day getting it all to himſelf, by ſeparately attacking thoſe petty kings: but that, in effect, he purchaſed theſe hopes at a very high price, by that ſcarcity of troops and money into which the greedineſs of the league had thrown him. And although the king ſhould be able to maintain the war but a ſhort time, Philip perceived that he might be obliged to recall the ſupplies he lent to France, having but ſufficient for himſelf in Flanders, where the war raged more fiercely every day.

OBSERVING that Du-Perron liſtened to me attentively, and ſeemed to be convinced of the reaſonableneſs of all I ſaid, I did not ſo ſoon quit the ſubject of Spain. I told him it was not probable that ſo many brave men, fond of their liberty, their laws, and cuſtoms, would ever be eaſy under a foreign ſlavery, and reſolve to bear away no other reward for their gallant actions, than the honour of being dependents upon the grandees of Spain, or at beſt penſionaries of a king, who although he had greater obligations to the prince of Parma than to any other perſon, ſuffered him to expect no reward of his ſervices till his death: That the whole view of the French lords, by ſeeming to join in the king of Spain, was only to procure the grant of greater rewards from Henry, while he continued in the profeſſion of the proteſtant religion; after which they would abandon, without any difficulty, that hacknied reproach of a relapſe, as well as the deſign of chuſing a king from amongſt themſelves, the marriages of the infanta,

and

and all the reſt of their idle projects. For a proof of the truth of what I ſaid, I produced the treaty which the league had propoſed to Henry, by Villeroy and Jeannin, ſoon after the raiſing of the ſiege of Rouen, which I have not given a full account of in its place, but ſhall lay before the reader immediately. After this, turning ſuddenly towards Du-Perron, I aſked him, if he was not of the intereſt of all good Frenchmen, and would not be the firſt himſelf to prevent ſuch deſigns from being effected; whether the good of the ſtate required, that by deſtroying in a moment an edifice which had coſt the kings of France ſuch labour to raiſe, and which ſome of them had cemented with their blood, France ſhould be again filled with thoſe little tyrants, ambitious and cruel, who claimed a right of giving law to their prince, and who were always ready to fly before the firſt enemies that attacked them: And laſtly, if he did not confeſs that a monarchical government, by which all the members are united, and under the direction of one only head, was the moſt glorious and moſt advantageous of any, and for the French nation in particular?

I CUT ſhort my diſcourſe upon this third party of politicians, by obſerving to Du-Perron, that one of theſe two things muſt neceſſarily happen, either that they would unite themſelves to the league, and ſo deprive it of all aſſiſtance from Spain; or take meaſures ſeparately from it, which would produce the neceſſity of deſtroying, or being deſtroyed by it. In any of theſe caſes, nothing could happen that would not be for the king's advantage. To conclude with what related to the king himſelf, I found no difficulty in making the abbé confeſs, that this prince was abſolutely fitted to reign over the French. I repreſented to him, that his reputation was ſo well eſtabliſhed every where, that the league had great reaſon to fear, and the third party (whoſe intereſt and credit were but very ſmall) ſtill more, that in the provinces, where no one delivered himſelf up ſo blindly to the caprice

price of the league as in Paris, they would put themſelves entirely under the protection of this prince, when their intoxication was over, and had given place to that love of reſt ſo natural to thoſe who have ſuffered a great deal. That the provinces began already to diſcover their diſcontent openly; but without that, could not the king, brave and experienced as he was, and aſſiſted only by the proteſtants and foreigners, maintain the war a long time, and guard againſt domeſtic attempts upon his perſon? They had ſeen him when he had not ten cities in his party, and with only a handful of men, make a ſtand againſt all the forces of the kingdom. I concluded with ſaying, that inſtead of giving the enemies of France the pleaſure of ſeeing her waſte and deſtroy herſelf, it was the general intereſt, to favour and ſupport a prince, who appeared capable of reſtoring her to her former tranquility, and of raiſing her to a new degree of ſplendor.

The abbé Du-Perron had no reply to make to theſe arguments; he was convinced of their force; and, as I expected, knew well how to bring over the cardinal of Bourbon to his opinion, by adding to them all thoſe which his own penetration ſuggeſted to him, and which he did not fail to adorn with all the perſuaſive charms of eloquence. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next, were employed by him and I in going backwards and forwards, and in conferences of this kind. As ſoon as a negotiation was begun, we had more negotiators than we wiſhed.

It is certain, that Villeroy and Jeannin had a long time before preſented the king with the ſcheme of a treaty, in the name of the league, by which they offered, upon certain conditions, to acknowledge him for king. This piece is curious enough to deſerve an abſtract ſhould be given of it. The true ſpirit of the league diſcovered itſelf there plainly. The king's abjuration was at the head, as the firſt and principal condition.

condition. They required, that in the ſpace of three months he ſhould make a public profeſſion of the catholic religion; that he ſhould reſtore it in all thoſe places from whence the ſuperiority of the reformed had baniſhed it; that he ſhould break off all alliance with them; that they ſhould have no ſhare in the dignities, embaſſies, and employments of ſtate of any kind whatever: in a word, that their continuance in France ſhould be tolerated only, and for a certain time.

MANY other articles ſeemed to be inſerted there only to perſuade the people that the chiefs of the league, by treating with Henry, had nothing but the ſervice of religion and the ſtate in view. Such were the clauſes of naming to benefices, conformable to the canons; that of holding the ſtates from ſix to ſix years; and many others.

THESE were all ſpecious conditions, but they added (which was the moſt eſſential point for the authors of the project) That the king ſhould acknowledge, authoriſe, and ſupport the league with all his power: That he ſhould leave a certain number of towns in their hands, without even putting a garriſon into them; the meaning of which was, that he ſhould reign under them: That he ſhould diſtribute all the governments of France amongſt ſuch of his principal officers as they ſhould name to him: That he ſhould keep a ſufficient number of troops to maintain the roman-catholic religion there: That he ſhould not diſpoſe of the taxes, impoſts, and other revenues of the crown; but they ſhould be all applied to this uſe, according to a diviſion proportioned to the quality and occaſions of thoſe governments: That all the garriſons which ſhould be put in the fortreſſes of the kingdom ſhould be paid in the ſame manner. The diſtribution of theſe governments was as follows: Provence was to be given to the duke of Nemours, Languedoc to the duke of Joyeuſe, Bourbonnois and Marche to the duke of Elbeuf,

Elbeuf, Bretagne to the duke of Mercœur, the two Vexins, with the title of governor, to d'Alincourt, part of Normandy to Villars, the Iſle of France to the baron of Roſne, Orleanois and Berry to la Chatre, Picardy to the duke of Aumale, Champaigne to the duke of Guiſe, with the poſt of high ſteward, and all the dignities and benefices which his family had enjoyed.

THE duke of Maïenne had, with reaſon, the largeſt ſhare. To the government of Burgundy, which was allotted for him, they added thoſe of Lyonnois, Forêt, and Beaujolois; and in all theſe provinces gave him a power that hardly left the king the ſhadow of any authority: the right of diſpoſing, as he pleaſed, of governments, lord-lieutenantcies, and other employments, not only in the army, but alſo in the finances, and courts of judicature; and what was ſtill more, the nomination to eccleſiaſtical dignities and benefices: and to all theſe extraordinary advantages, they added the poſt of conſtable, or lieutenant-general of the crown. It was this only that ſeemed worthy of the duke of Maïenne's acceptance. They likewiſe kept in reſerve four marechals batons †, and the league, at their own leiſure, were to name the perſons on whom they were to be beſtowed; beſides very conſiderable penſions to the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them, they carried their violence ſo far as to lay the king under an obligation of clearing the debts of ſome conſiderable perſons of their party whom they ſhould name, to the number of twenty. And, to conclude, with abſolutely tying up his hands, they added, that he ſhould allow the league to chuſe the foreign princes that were to accede to the treaty, and be guarantees for

† Theſe four marechals batons were given the following year to Roſne, la Châtre, Bois-Dauphin, and Saint-Pol, each of whom will be mentioned hereafter. On this occaſion there is a *bon mot* related of Chanvalon. Sir, ſaid he one day to the duke of Maïenne, you have made baſtards, which will be legitimated at your expence.

its execution. The pope's name only was expreſſed; doubtleſs, the blanks were to be filled up with the king of Spain amongſt the reſt. By this they too plainly acknowledged the views of the Spaniards. Charles V. required nothing elſe than ſuch a ſcheme when he ſaid, that he had been falſely accuſed of hating a king of France, ſince inſtead of one, he wiſhed there had been twenty.

No perſon believed that the league, by treating with the king on conditions ſo injurious to this prince, could perſuade themſelves that he would ſubmit to them. It was more than probable therefore, that they did it in order to make his refuſal give diſguſt to the dregs of the people. The king likewiſe, far from treating theſe propoſals as a ſerious matter, or anſwering them privately, as he would have done had he thought it poſſible to have come to any accommodation, ſacrificed them immediately to the proteſtants, who gave this treaty all the epithets it deſerved; it even turned the catholics againſt the author; for theſe catholics finding that all there was badly deſigned; that it was full of articles which, being only ſnares, would prove an inexhauſtible ſource of difficulties; and that there were ſome which it was impoſſible to execute, they took no notice of what made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion upon them, which was, that by the diſtribution of favours and rewards, nothing remained for them.

The king making no other uſe of theſe propoſals than to bind thoſe who ſerved him more cloſely to his intereſts, gave a very ſhort and cool anſwer to the preſident Jeannin. It was at the camp before Caudebec. There is no neceſſity to repeat the contents.

Civil wars, eſpecially thoſe wherein religion has a ſhare, give a freedom and boldneſs which on any other occaſions would be very ſurprizing. Jeannin, offended at the ridicule with which his project had been treated, anſwered in writing, which he addreſ-

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ſed to the king himſelf, That he was greatly aſtoniſhed at his behaviour towards him: That if his project was well conſidered, he would find that he had not yet ſtipulated for ſufficient advantages for the league: That the only fear he had when he drew it up was, that it would be diſavowed, eſpecially by the duke of Nemours, who, inſtead of a government, had already formed a principality for himſelf in Lyonnois, with the approbation of the king of Spain: And he had ſtill more reaſon to believe the duke of Maïenne would be diſpleaſed at it, whoſe intereſts had been too much neglected in this treaty (certainly this moderation of Jeannin's was truly admirable:) That, in his opinion, he had ſhewn the king his readineſs to ſerve him, by not mentioning his giving the league any towns as a ſecurity for the performance of his word (as if thoſe which were to be beſtowed upon the governors did not anſwer the ſame purpoſe: That, to pleaſe the king, he had eluded the queſtion, of making thoſe governments hereditary. This indeed was true, but after the privileges he had inveſted them with, would it be difficult for them to ſeize this alſo?

JEANNIN afterwards obſerved to the king, with great freedom, or rather an exceſs of inſolence, that the catholics having with juſtice taken arms againſt him, he ought not to make uſe of the words crime, and abolition; for they were entitled to treat with him upon the foot of an equal, becauſe they did not look upon themſelves as enemies ſubdued, nor him as king, while the cardinal of Bourbon, the only acknowledged king in France, was alive; nor even after his death could he claim that title, on account of his religion; therefore it was the body of the monarchy which treated with a foreign prince: that, for the ſame reaſon, the king's acceptation could not be called an edict of pacification, granted to a king by his ſubjects, but an amicable contract with a people, who freely choſe a king after the reaſons for refuſing

refuſing him were removed. Many other impertinences with which this letter was filled, do not deſerve to be repeated. Jeannin concluded, by abſolutely rejecting all aſſiſtance from meſſieurs de Bouillon, Du-Pleſſis, and the other proteſtants whom the king had mentioned in his letter, and declared he would have no intercourſe with them.

WHILE the king deliberated upon what reſolutions he ſhould take, the States were held at Paris †. The hint of aſſembling them came from the prince of Parma; and it muſt be confeſſed, that by the methods he purſued there, in order to accompliſh his deſigns, a reſolution more dangerous for the king's cauſe need not have been taken. This general intended to have ſummoned them at Rheims, and to have renewed all his endeavours to make himſelf maſter of the deliberations within; while, with a ſuperior army without, he retained the people in his party, and the nobility in their duty, he perſuaded himſelf that he ſhould obtain an election entirely agreeable to the king of Spain, and cauſe the elected monarch to be crowned immediately. This whole plan was the effect of deep politics ‡: quick diſpatch, great liberality, a well-choſen opportunity, and, above all, an army capable of inſpiring awe, theſe were indeed the true means of bringing affairs to an iſſue, and of excluding the king for ever from them. But the prince of Parma dying juſt as he was upon the point of executing theſe projects, they all expired with him, or were afterwards conducted nei-

† The States were ordered to meet the 25th of January, but they were not opened till next day, in the Louvre, which was prepared for that purpoſe. All the ſpeeches, acts, and ceremonies of this aſſembly, may be found in many of the hiſtorians. See particularly de Thou, book cv. Davila, book xiii. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Villeroy, Mem. of State, vol. IV. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. Matthieu, vol. II. Chron. Novenn. for the year 1593, book v. Satyre Menippée, &c.

‡ See the duke of Parma's letter on this ſubject to the king of Spain, Chron. Novenn. book iv. fol. 5.

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ther with order, diligence, or other neceſſary meaſures. It is true, that the count of Mansfield, who ſucceeded him, came at laſt with an army as far as Noyon; but at that time, the ſame ſubmiſſion was not made to Spain, as had been before they had entertained hopes of ſeeing the king abjure calviniſm; and the count of Mansfield returned without having done any thing; beſides, there was now an alteration in a circumſtance, which to the prince of Parma had always appeared of great conſequence; this was, that inſtead of getting the ſtates aſſembled at Rheims, the duke of Maïenne had prevailed upon the pope and the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries, who were don Diego d'Ibarra, the duke of Feria §, Inigo de Mandoce, and count John-Baptiſt de Taxis, to conſent that they ſhould be aſſembled at Paris. Each of theſe perſons hoped, that in a city which was entirely in their intereſts by their alliances, their intrigues, and their preſents, they might practiſe a thouſand artifices to engage all the ſuffrages for themſelves: but when this great diſorderly body was aſſembled, they found themſelves croſſed by ſo many, and ſuch different intereſts, that the Spaniards having only their own voices, like the reſt, and deſtitute beſides of the means of making them be heard by force, found that they ſhould meet with more obſtacles than they had foreſeen; and from that time they feared, that they ſhould draw no other advantage from all their intrigues and ſecret practices, than the embroiling affairs ſome time longer; till this entanglement of ſo many different views, and the impoſſibility of ever uniting them, would at length oblige them to obey the dictates of reaſon.

How would they be able to bring the pope into their meaſures, or rather his legates, who had each his particular deſign, the king of Spain, the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, the dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, Mercœur, and Guiſe, in fine, the princes of

§ Laurent, Saurès de Figueroa y Cordua, duke of Feria.

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the blood, who had alſo their different deſigns †, of which they were no leſs tenacious? All thoſe factions, when the ſtates were opened, reflecting that this was the laſt effort of the party, had recourſe to a thouſand ſtratagems which deſtroyed each other, and according to the notion of what is called policy, involved and concealed themſelves under falſe meaſures to bring others to the purpoſe they deſired. To the great number of counſels already ſo perplexing, they added a flux and reflux of opinions, which formed a maze where no perſon knew where he was. No one declared his ſentiments at firſt, but ſeemed to ſpeak only to hide his emulation, and to make his real deſigns be gueſſed at.

THE Spaniards at this juncture regulated their conduct by their uſual maxim, and the particular caſt of their nation; or perhaps their deſign was to ſound the inclinations of the French, to diſcover if they would bear willingly a foreign prince to reign over them. When they perceived that by this delay they were in danger of loſing what they had been ſo long aiming at, they at laſt made the moſt reaſonable propoſition in their power, which was the marriage of the infanta ‡ with the cardinal of Bour-

† "The league was of this advantage to France," ſays le Grain, "that every one was willing to command in it, and none to obey."

‡ Clara Eugenia of Auſtria, ſecond daughter of Philip II. of Spain. Catherine, the eldeſt, was married to the duke of Savoy, but not till after the cardinal of Placentia, legate, and cardinal de Pellevé, had endeavoured, in vain, to bring France under ſubjection to Spain, by the marriage of this infanta with prince Erneſt of Auſtria, the eldeſt of the emperor's brothers. Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate impute to the court of Madrid, as an error, by which Spain loſt the crown of France, their not ſuffering this infanta, the future queen, to come to France, unleſs the prince whom they deſtined for her huſband was declared and acknowledged; but I doubt whether the arrival of this princeſs at Paris would have removed all obſtacles. According to de Thou, the duke of Guiſe's party was ſo powerful, by the union of Spain and the clergy of France, that had not his own uncle, the duke of Maïenne, ſecretly oppoſed him, and the king of Navarre declared very ſeaſonably his reſolution to embrace the catholic religion, in all probability this prince would have been declared king. "The duke of Guiſe," ſays father de Chalons, after Matthieu, Hiſt. of France, vol.

bon. All the French nobles, with the Guiſes at their head, waited only for this ſtep of the Spaniards, and concurred in one common deſign, which was, to make uſe of this propoſal to kindle between the king and cardinal all the hatred that could animate two declared rivals, and conſequently between the king and the leaders of the contrary party, the count of Soiſſons, the duke of Nevers, Longueville, and others. They ſuffered this propoſition to be carried ſo far, as to have the articles drawn up and ſent by Bellozanne to the cardinal; but the nobles afterwards uniting, knew how to put a ſtop to it, which they did, with a deſign that may be eaſily penetrated into, in order that what theſe lords took away from the cardinal and the princes of the blood might fall into their own power, as the princes of the blood, by ſeeming to reſign their hopes in favour of the cardinal, had an oblique view towards themſelves; which ſhewed them, that after him the crown would more eaſily revert to them, than if a foreigner had firſt poſſeſſed it. The Spaniards comprehended the meaning of all the intrigues of the princes of Lorrain, and, one may eaſily imagine, never forgave them.

THIS common intereſt of the nobles, which united them againſt Spain and the princes of the blood, divided them afterwards into as many factions as there were perſons. Each thought himſelf moſt worthy of the diadem. Jealouſy and malice ſoon actuated the whole party to ſuch a degree, that each diſputed for the crown, for the ſole pleaſure of hindering another from obtaining it. Some of theſe parties objected to one perſon only, and comforted himſelf for not being able to ſucceed in his own deſigns, if he could overthrow his. Of this claſs was the clergy, which, without naming any perſon for

vol. III. p. 227. "was praiſed for the moderation he diſcovered on "this occaſion. He gave no indications of his having flattered him- "ſelf with ſuch agreeable hopes, nor ſhewed any ſolicitude, for ſo "great a fortune."

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the throne, uſed only their utmoſt endeavours to hinder the king of Navarre from being elected. Another undertook to ſupplant two, three, or more of the competitors: but there was not one from any of theſe motives, who was capable of forming a party ſo much ſuperior to the others, as to bear down all its oppoſers. The people, although generally the ſlaves of prejudice to one particular candidate, were here, by the number of them, hindered from determining. And upon this occaſion it happened, as has been often experienced, that adopting the ſtyle of that ſort of indifferent and neutral perſons who are always to be found in public aſſemblies, an affair of this importance was turned into a mere ſhew, and cauſed only laughter at the unhappy candidates who were rejected.

But theſe intrigues, this play of falſhoods, could not laſt long; in ſuch ſort of debates, the firſt reſolutions, and the firſt motions, are ſuggeſted by the paſſions. If by a concurrence of cauſes they are prevented from ſucceeding, reaſon, though it ſlowly appears in tumultuous aſſemblies, yet forces itſelf at laſt to be ſeen and acknowledged, and after long oppoſition is followed through neceſſity. The firſt thing that was done on this occaſion was by means of the parliament, which weighing deliberately the different propoſals that were brought upon the carpet, either for a Spaniſh king, or one of Lorrain, found that it would be an everlaſting reproach to them, to ſuffer a law ſo fundamental as the hereditary right of ſucceſſion to be infringed, and began, without knowing what would be the conſequence, by granting an edict † which forbad the carrying

† The edict was paſſed the 28th of June. "This action," ſays Villeroy, vol. II. p. 58. "was the more applauded by all good men, "as the danger that attended it was ſo great; it was certainly of great "uſe, and I muſt ſay, that the kingdom owed its ſafety to the courts." John le Maitre, although made preſident of the parliament of the league by the duke of Maienne, the preſident Edward Mole, the counſellors William du Vair, afterwards keeper of the ſeals, Stephen Fleury,

the crown out of the royal family. This was far from being a new thought; there was not one whoſe mind had not ſuggeſted it to him, and who was not conſcious of the injuſtice of acting contrary to it.

THE claims of royal family began to appear ſacred to a thouſand perſons, who a moment before had not reflected on them. Spain, whoſe attempt was fruſtrated by this edict, might have ſtill warded off the blow, had ſhe united with the Lorrains, whom it equally ſtruck at; but the more ſhe thought ſhe was entitled to depend upon their ſuffrages, the more irreconcileable was her enmity toward them, when ſhe found they had betrayed her. They made her no offers, and their conſtant miſunderſtanding inſenſibly paved the way for the victory of their common adverſary.

To accompliſh this, there remained but one ſtep to be taken, which was prevented by the ſtrong oppoſition of the clergy *. A ſtop therefore was put to the affair for ſome time: they reſumed, as if for amuſement, ſome of their former worn-out projects. Different hopes were again raiſed to be ſoon and effectually extinguiſhed; for there was not one per-

ry, Peter d'Amours, Lazarus Coqueley, &c. were the chief promoters of this edict: in conſequence of it, the preſident le Maitre, with the counſellors de Fleury and d'Amours, were deputed that ſame day, to make remonſtrances to the duke of Maïenne, as lieutenant-general of the crown. The duke complained bitterly of this affront from the parliament; and the archbiſhop of Lyons, who was with him, having repeated the word *affront* in a paſſion, and treated the deputies with bad language, the preſident le Maitre ſilenced him with great authority and dignity. See vol. IX. of the Memoirs of the league. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. p. 635.

* All the Memoirs of theſe times confirm the violent proceedings and outrageous behaviour of the cardinal de Pleſance, legate, and of almoſt all the biſhops of France, and curates of Paris and the Sorbonne. "*Debourbonnez-nous, Seigneur,*" was the explication a preacher gave of theſe words of ſcripture, *Eripe me, Domine, de luto fæcis.* There are an infinite number of ſuch circumſtances, the malignity of which cannot ſurely be excuſed by zeal for the true religion. De Thou obſerves, that the clergy was the only one of the three eſtates that perſiſted in voting for a war.

ſon who did not tacitly confeſs, that if the king † abjured calviniſm, all conteſt would be at an end. Every one voted for the engaging him to comply with this demand, and they applied themſelves to it, not ſlightly as before, but from a more clear and diſtinct view of the true intereſt of the ſtate: a view which from this moment became that of the parliament, and the whole people, and which met with no more oppoſition, but what ſome nobles for their perſonal intereſt were pleaſed to give it.

The dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, and Mercœur, were the moſt difficult to be perſuaded into theſe meaſures, as was moſt natural, conſidering that they of all others, had flattered themſelves with hopes of the greateſt advantage: but bad as their intentions were, they could not hinder a conference with the king from being propoſed, and paſſed by a plurality of voices in the ſtates. It was, however, in their power to deſtroy or ſuſpend the effect, and they did not fail to do ſo: for this purpoſe they uſed their utmoſt endeavours, they ſet their emiſſaries to work, took advantage of the king's ‡ bad fortune at Selles, cauſed Mansfield to advance, who took Noyon, gave all the force they were able to the pope's refuſing to allow the cardinal de Gondy *, and the marquis de Piſany, whom the king had ſent to him, to enter Rome, or any of his holineſs's territories. Could they flatter themſelves, that the irregularity of theſe proceedings would not be commented upon, after having ſo often proteſted, that in all their actions they had only the intereſt of religion in view,

† It is clear at this time, that Henry IV. was not only the lawful heir to the crown, that was never diſputed, but alſo that in his perſon the three races of our kings were united. See a proof in a new work entitled, Genealogical hiſtories of all the ſovereign families, in the 22d genealogical table.

‡ The journey which Henry IV. took towards Tours, and the neceſſity to which he reduced himſelf of raiſing the ſiege of the city of Selles in Berry, were then thought very conſiderable faults.

* Peter de Gondy, biſhop of France. John de Vivonne, marquis of Piſany.

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and that they were ready to ſubmit to Henry as ſoon as he ſhould quit his erroneous opinions. No perſon was deceived; and although they prevented all the conſequences which the conference held at Surêne, in the month of April †, might have produced, it was thought the laſt effort of an expiring power. It appeared plainly, that if the king, after having conſented that no proteſtant deputy ſhould appear at that conference, had not yet entirely complied, it was becauſe the leaguers raiſed more difficulties about temporal, than the king about ſpiritual matters. The people, eſpecially, were diſpoſed to do him juſtice, and the ſweets of a truce, which was the only benefit reſulting from his conference, drew them entirely into his intereſts. But I now return more particularly to this prince.

He made Mante the place of his conſtant reſidence, where all his prudence was ſcarce ſufficient to keep a party, compoſed of perſons ſo oppoſite in their ſentiments, together. He had been alarmed, at firſt, with the convention of the ſtates; and with ſo much the more reaſon, as the firſt thought which ſuggeſted itſelf to his mind on that occaſion, was, that an aſſembly, in appearance ſo auguſt and reſpectable, would ſoon find a remedy for the diſorders of the ſtate. Under this apprehenſion, the king began to flatter the catholicks more than uſual; and, as we have juſt ſeen, made ſome efforts to gain the pope, to the end that he might not extinguiſh in both parties the only hope that could hinder them from coming to an open rupture with him. It may be eaſily

† In the latter end of April, and during part of the month of May. See in the records, vol. 8889 of MSS. in the royal library. Villeroy's Mem. of ſtate, vol. IV. Matthieu and Cayet, ibid. &c. The archbiſhop of Bourges, who pleaded the king's cauſe, maintained that obedience is due to pagan princes, and ſupported this aſſertion by the authority of St. Paul, the privilege of the Gallic church, and by many other unanſwerable proofs. Weak as the arguments alledged by the archbiſhop of Lyons to the contrary were, they carried their point in this conference.

imagined, that this could not be done without awakening the diſcontent of the huguenots. But the king by his wiſdom was beforehand with them, and it appeared, that nothing was done but in conſequence of that general council of the proteſtants, of which we have already ſeen that the reſult has been to turn every thing into art and negotiation. When their complaints grew too loud, and the king found reaſon to fear that they would carry things to extremity againſt him, he knew how to appeaſe them by ſome new military expedition, which he likewiſe engaged in, to convince the people ſtill more, that a prince, who, by his kind and gracious behaviour appeared deſerving of their love, was, by his valour and abilities in war, no leſs worthy of their obedience.

As ſoon as he was informed of the diſunion that raged in the ſtates, the confuſion and oppoſition that every word gave riſe to, he looked upon this aſſembly to be the happy means by which his deſigns would be accompliſhed, and all his perplexity now was the regulating his conduct with the great number of mediators who meddled in his affairs, as ſoon as it was propoſed in the ſtates to treat with him. This prince would at that time have met with no obſtacle to retard his gaining poſſeſſion of the crown, if he had appeared willing to ſatisfy the exceſſive demands which the nobles and other members of the league began to make him; but he was reſolved that poſterity ſhould never reproach him with his having owed the royal dignity to his meanneſs in ſubmitting to the rapaciouſneſs and caprice of his ſubjects. That he was thus able to reſiſt his natural inclination and ardor to aſcend the throne, was a convincing proof of his being worthy of it.

I OUGHT here to do juſtice to ſome of them (the number indeed is not very great) but I am well aſſured that * meſſieurs de Belliévre, de Belin, and

* Pomponne de Belliévre, Francis de Foudoas d'Averton, Sebaſtian Zamet.

Zamet,

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Zamet, had no view to their own intereſts in thoſe applications which they made to the king. Some others there might be who behaved in the ſame manner, but of them I cannot ſpeak with any certainty. As to the reſt, I ſhall content myſelf with naming the principal agents deputed to the king, as well by the league and the ſtates, as by the clergy and French nobility. I ſhall not repeat names already mentioned, but add to them only the cardinal de Gondy, the marechals d'Aumont and de Bouillon, the admiral de Biron, meſſieurs d'O, de Vitry, de Lux, Du Pleſſis, la Verriere, de Fleury, and the abbé de Cheſy. A great many others remained undiſtinguiſhed in this croud, although there was not one amongſt them, who was not perſuaded in his own mind, that he ſhould be one day mentioned in hiſtory, as the perſon who had brought affairs to a concluſion. I once counted over to the king, by their names, above a hundred of thoſe perſons. Theſe that remained would make a very fine figure here, if one could for a moment only open and diſplay the hearts of theſe ardent counſellors. Vanity, the deſire of favour, ſelf-intereſt, vile artifice, jealouſy, knavery, and treachery, would be all one would diſcover there.

THERE were ſome, who till the laſt moment did not quit their diſguiſe, by which they abuſed the privilege of conferring with this prince, in order to betray him more ſecurely, and to ſpread ſnares for him, which any other could not have eſcaped. It is with regret, that I name Villeroy * and Jeannin

* In the firſt volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, which conſiſts only of a juſtification of this ſecretary's conduct, he candidly confeſſes that he would never have been prevailed upon to engage in the party of Henry IV. if he had not beforehand taken all the neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of the catholic religion. He confeſſes alſo, with the ſame ſincerity, his connections with the league and Spain, and the political principle which he had eſpouſed, that in making peace, it was moſt advantageous for the king to ſeparate him from the intereſt of England, and unite him with Spain. With regard to other accuſations, he defends himſelf with great force: He proteſted, that

here; but the fact is too well known, and the confuſion they were afterwards in, when the king publicly reproached them with it at Fontainbleau, is a full conviction of it, as well as the intereſted conduct Villeroy afterwards obſerved. Two days only before the king's abjuration, theſe gentlemen procured a ſecret aſſembly to be held, compoſed of the pope's, and the king of Spain's miniſters, and the chief partizans of the league, either in perſon, or by proxy, for the dukes of Nemours and Mercœur were then abſent. In this aſſembly, the legate made them all ſwear, upon the croſs, the evangeliſts, and even the hoſt, to maintain the league, till they ſaw, upon the throne of France, a king agreeable to Spain, and, above all, never to acknowledge the king of Navarre for ſuch, though he ſhould, to the claim his birth gave him, add that of a ſincere abjuration. This very pious and charitable oath, ſigned by the whole aſſembly, was incloſed in a packet, and ſent to Rome. It was from a letter wrote by the cardinal of Placentia to ſome members of parliament, the bearer of which was taken up at Lyons by the king's ſoldiers, that we came to the knowledge of

* he never received any money from Spain; and whatever arguments he offered, either in the ſtates or any other councils, were ſincerely meant for the king's advantage, and to forward the peace. See the note upon this ſubject ſome pages above, and what is ſaid in the preface to this work. As to the oath taken by the league, which the duke of Sully here mentions, and which is the heavieſt article againſt Villeroy, he is ſo fully juſtified in Matthieu, vol. II. p. 153. and following, Chron. Novenn. book v. fol. 229. and ſome other hiſtorians, that it muſt be confeſſed, that this is an error in our Memoirs. According to theſe hiſtorians, Villeroy had not only no part in this oath, but was alſo abſolutely ignorant of it, till Henry IV. ſhewed him this writing at Fontainbleau, and charged him to remonſtrate the baſeneſs of ſuch a proceeding to the duke of Maïenne, whom Villeroy was at that time by the king's command, honeſtly endeavouring to ſeparate from the league. But it is ſtill more certain that Villeroy reproaching the duke of Maïenne with this criminal deſign, Maïenne anſwered him in theſe words, "I would neither tell you, nor the "preſident Jeannin of this oath, becauſe I promiſed the Spaniards "and the league to the contrary, and was not ignorant that you would "never be brought to approve of ſuch a remedy." Matthieu, p. 155.

this

this oath. In this manner did they ſport with fidelity, virtue, and religion. This circumſtance, though anticipated, ſeems to me not improperly mentioned here.

AMONGST that croud of negotiators and counſellors there were many who imagined they could deceive the king, while in reality they deceived themſelves. The king let them remain in this opinion, not to perſuade theſe ſchemers, but the people, that he might be eaſily brought to the point they wiſhed. This I had from the king himſelf. I remember one night, which was, I believe, on the 15th of February, when all the courtiers had quitted his apartment, he ſent Feret, his ſecretary, to bring me to him, who introduced me into his chamber, where I found him in bed. He owned to me, that he was under a neceſſity of uſing this precaution whenever he had an inclination to converſe with me, that he might not give diſguſt to the catholics, and the proteſtants likewiſe, who hated me ſtill more, perhaps, through jealouſy, than the former did through a natural averſion. After complaining of this reſtraint in terms very obliging to me, he talked to me of thoſe affairs which were at preſent upon the carpet, and of the intrigues of the courtiers to obtain each ſeparately the honour of the deciſion. I had ſaid before, and it has been repeated to the king, that I was afraid his eaſy diſpoſition would make him give up more than he ought to do. But the manner in which this prince repreſented to me the ſtate of affairs, and painted the different characters of all the pretenders to his favour, convinced me I had been deceived. I was ſurprized at that juſtneſs of penetration with which he immediately diſcerned truth amidſt the ſhades that obſcured it. Nor was I leſs charmed, when ſubmitting his knowledge to mine, he inſiſted upon my preſcribing to him the manner in which he ſhould finiſh an affair which, to confeſs the truth, was not without danger till the

laſt moment. I endeavoured to excuſe myſelf from accepting this honour, but all I could obtain was a delay of three days to take my reſolution: it was during this converſation that the king firſt mentioned to me his deſign of entruſting his finances to my care.

After three days deep reflection, I waited upon the king with the ſame ſecrecy as before. I did not approve of any of theſe ſchemes that had been recommended to him, and which differed only in the proportion of thoſe rewards which were to be granted to the members of the league, and other intereſted perſons. My opinion was, that matters were not yet ripe for a concluſion, which I ſupported with the following reaſons: That the king was freed from that only fear which could induce him to put a precipitate end to the preſent negotiations, by which I meant the fear that all theſe competitors for royalty ſhould unite reſolutely in favour of one particular perſon, becauſe the miſunderſtanding which had already riſen amongſt the princes, the nobles, and the Spaniſh miniſters, gaining ſtrength every day, we might expect to ſee them ſoon deſtroy each others pretenſions. From whence it muſt neceſſarily happen, that thoſe who were diſintereſted, and had right intentions, would bind themſelves more cloſely to the king's party: That this effect was already indiſputable, with regard to thoſe cities of France which were at too great a diſtance from the league, and the cabal, to be influenced by that eagerneſs and warmth which actuated them: That the heads of the league themſelves, through hatred, jealouſy, or even a conſideration of their own intereſt, would one after the other, throw themſelves into the king's party: That the bare hopes only which this prince would ſuffer them to entertain, would give him beforehand moſt of thoſe advantages he could gain from the accompliſhment of them, without hazarding any thing: That the dangers of a too precipitate execution were,

firſt,

firſt, an open deſertion of the proteſtants, who were not yet ſufficiently prepared for this change, which might produce the moſt fatal conſequences, ſince the king, not being yet ſecure of all the catholics to oppoſe them, would remain at the mercy of both parties; and, ſecondly, the neceſſity he laid himſelf under, by throwing himſelf into the arms of the catholics, of granting all their demands, however exorbitant they were, which, both for the preſent and the future, was of dangerous conſequence: That it was neceſſary to allow theſe ſchemers, and all the chiefs of the league, time to give a diſtinct form to their demands, by which they would perceive, that they were encroaching upon each other, and they would be obliged voluntarily to reduce their extravagant pretenſions, to agree that by ſetting too high a value upon ſlight ſervices they would put it out of the king's power to ſatisfy them, and at length to ſeek their own intereſt in the general intereſt of the ſtate. I told the king, that he would find the firſt who took this ſtep, would be thoſe, who, having only been influenced by the foreign powers to demand rewards, which they were perhaps deſirous of ſharing with them, would begin to be ſenſible of the injuſtice of their proceedings in proportion as their hatred of thoſe foreigners increaſed: and that thoſe very foreigners, finding the king ſo ready to comply with the demands that were made upon him, would prevail upon others to aſk for what they did not believe they could obtain for themſelves.

I SHEWED the king, that, whatever change ſhould happen in his affairs, it could not be ſo ſudden, but he would have it in his power to prevent it, ſince the ſpeaking a few words only would anſwer that purpoſe; whereas, by gaining time, he would diſcover all their deſigns; and ſecretly breaking thoſe connections between them, all that remained to put an abſolute end to the treaty, would be to beſtow rewards upon thoſe who had a right to demand them.

To bring affairs happily to this end, I ſaw nothing better to be done, than for the king to perſiſt in the conduct he had hitherto obſerved. To receive every one kindly, pro iſe little, ſeem deſirous of bringing matters to a concluſion, aſcribe always the fault of delays to obſtacles, and earneſtly endeavour to remove them. This, in my opinion, is the manner in which one generally ought to act in political affairs which are a little perplexed. It is well known that the difference between precipitation and diligence is, that this laſt, as much a foe to inaction and ſloth as the other, engages in nothing without having firſt conſulted judgment upon it; while in the practice they are almoſt always confounded.

In theſe arguments which I made uſe of to the king. his ſuppoſed converſion was always the foundation I built upon; and his majeſty, by contradicting none of them, gave me to underſtand, that he would not be ſtopped by that formality. I added only one thing more, which was, that he would not ſuffer this negociation to degenerate into mere debates, as his adverſaries did, but join ſome military expedition to it. Having many other reaſons to add, I offered the king to give them to him in writing. His majeſty replied, there was no occaſion for it; that he believed he comprehended all I could have to ſay to him; and that when he had more leiſure, he would diſcourſe with me upon a ſyſtem, by which it ſeemed to him, that after having united himſelf to the catholics, it would not be impoſſible to reconcile them to the proteſtants.

That this reſolution might be fully executed, the king, at his return to Mante, after the breaking off the conference of Surêne, cauſed others wholly upon the ſubject of religion *, to be held between the catholic prieſts, and the proteſtant clergy, at which he was always preſent; and, on the other hand, made preparations for opening the campaign,

* At la Villette, at Pontoiſe, at Mante, and elſewhere.

in

in the month of April, by ſome action of importance, rather indeed to keep up his reputation with the people, than with deſign to continue in earneſt a war, which for want of money he was unable to ſupport.

THIS deſigned expedition was the ſiege of Dreux, for which the king borrowed a large ſum of money from the city of Mante; and leaving that place about the beginning of April, came to paſs the river of Eure at Seriſy, while I on my ſide aſſembled, and led the neceſſary artillery. The admiral de Biron †, by the king's order, inveſted the city, which made little reſiſtance: all the difficulty lay in taking the caſtle, and eſpecially the tower of Griſe, which was impenetrable to the cannon. I promiſed the king to carry it, if he would give me four Engliſh and Scots miners, and a certain number of workmen. My enterprize did not fail to furniſh matter for laughter and contempt to my enemies, who eagerly ſeized this occaſion to mortify me. The king, though very doubtful of my ſucceſs, granted my requeſt. I led my miners and pioneers to the foot of the tower, where to guard them againſt the fire, and efforts of the beſieged, I covered them with mantelets, and ſtrong pieces of wood, and made them apply ſo cloſely, and with ſuch eagerneſs to the work, that out of ſix and thirty pioneers, which was my whole number, four only could labour at a time: the exceſſive hardneſs of the ſtone exhauſted their ſtrength, and covered them with ſweat the inſtant they began to work, but I cauſed them to be relieved immediately by four others; ſo that the work was not diſcontinued for one moment, although the enemies within endeavoured to deſtroy them, by throwing down large pieces of ſtone, and firing inceſſantly upon them.

WHEN I found that, notwithſtanding this vigo-

† Charles de Gontaut, ſon to the marechal, to whom the king gave the title of admiral.

rous defence, I had the very firſt day made an opening five feet in height, three in width, and four in depth, I believed the ſucceſs infallible. Six days were conſumed in this work. I encloſed three or four hundred pounds of excellent powder, in ſeveral cavities of ſix or ſeven feet ſquare, in the thickeſt part of the wall, which I ſhut up with ſtrong ſtones cemented together with plaiſter, leaving a paſſage only for two large ſauciſſes of dry hides filled with good powder, the end of which reached to the powder within, and joined on the outſide of the tower a train to which the fire was to be put. The duke of Montpenſier, deſirous of ſeeing the diſpoſition of this machine, received a muſket ſhot there in his face. Every one waited impatiently for my confuſion, which was all the reſult expected from this great work. And when they were informed of the time when I was to ſet fire to it, they eagerly aſſembled to behold the effect, which was not indeed immediate: for at firſt a low ſound was heard, accompanied with a thick ſmoke, during which a thouſand contemptuous glances were caſt upon me, and I was forced to endure as many ſtrokes of raillery upon my mine; but I ſoon had my revenge. A few minutes after, a thick cloud of ſmoke roſe as high as the tower, and, at the ſame inſtant, we ſaw it divided exactly into two parts, one of which fell, dragging men, women, and children with it, who were buried under its ruins. The other part continued ſtill ſtanding, but in ſuch a condition, that we could behold under its uncovered roof all thoſe that were within, who, terrified and aſtoniſhed at ſuch an horrible accident, and at our ſoldiers firing immediately upon them, ſent forth moſt lamentable cries. The king, moved with compaſſion, ordered the fire to ceaſe, and ſending for thoſe miſerable objects, gave a crown to each of them. The caſtle inſtantly ſurrendered, and this once I was ſure, that the government of a city, taken almoſt wholly by my

my means, would not be refuſed me. But d'O enjoyed the triumph of gaining it from me, and I yielded it to him, after the king had repreſented to me, that the terms he was upon with the catholic party made it impoſſible to diſoblige them on ſo ſlight an occaſion.

THE king ſtopped only to perform a few more ſuch little expeditions, and returned immediately to Mante, to reſume his conferences. This alternate ſucceſſion of war, and debates, laſted all the time that the ſtates continued to be held, and even till the day that the king abjured the proteſtant religion. I ſhould betray the cauſe of truth, if I ſuffered it to be even ſuſpected, that policy, the threats of the catholics, the fatigue of labour, the deſire of reſt, and of freeing himſelf from the tyranny of foreigners, or even the good of the people, though highly laudable in itſelf, had entirely influenced the king's laſt reſolution. As far as I am able to judge of the heart of this prince, which I believe I know better than any other perſon, it was indeed theſe conſiderations which firſt hinted to him the neceſſity of his converſion; and I confeſs that I myſelf ſuggeſted no others to him, fully perſuaded, as I have always been, although a calviniſt, from what I have gathered from the moſt learned of the proteſtant clergy, that God is no leſs honoured in the catholic, than in the proteſtant church. But at length the king was fully convinced that the catholic faith * was the ſecureſt. That native candour and ſincerity which I always obſerved in this prince, perſuades me, that he would not have been able, during all the remainder of his life, to carry on ſuch a fallacy.

THE confeſſion I make here ought not to be judged harſhly of. It is not ſurprizing that Henry, who

* This is the anſwer M. de Perefixe ſays he made to a proteſtant miniſter, who in a diſputation with the romiſh doctors, was driven to confeſs that a man might be as well ſaved in their communion. The confeſſion here made lays Sully open to a very ſenſible attack.

never

never heard any arguments about religion, but in theſe conferences, and continual controverſies †, ſhould ſuffer him to be drawn on that ſide, which they took care to make always victorious. For it muſt be obſerved as an effect of the king's prudent delays, that every one, even the proteſtants, nay more, the proteſtant clergy who were employed in the conferences, were at laſt thoroughly convinced that the king's change of religion was a circumſtance abſolutely neceſſary for the good of the ſtate, for peace, and even for the advantage of both religions; ſo that there was a kind of general combination to draw him to it. The proteſtant clergy either defended themſelves no longer, or did it ſo weakly, that their adverſaries had always the advantage.

THE abbé Du-Perron, whoſe triumph there was complete, was not a man that would loſe the fruits of his victory. With that ſoft and inſinuating converſation, that ſtrong and perſuaſive eloquence, that inexhauſtible fund of learning, ſupported by a wonderful memory, he could neither be overthrown, nor convicted of falſhood, but by the help of a whole library; a ſort of a languiſhing defence. With princes, the progreſſion from complaiſance to flattery is very eaſy. Some of the proteſtant clergy, who were moſt about the king, and whom he conſulted upon his difficulties, formally betrayed * their faith; or

† All theſe diſcourſes of the cardinals and prelates of France, whether intended to enlighten his underſtanding, or increaſe his zeal, may be found in the volume of MS. in the king's library, marked 9214.

The ſincerity of his converſion is there proved by the following circumſtances: his reſpect for the pope, the cardinals, and the whole clergy, his ſollicitude for the converſion of the young prince of Condé, his alliance with the pope, by marrying the princeſs of Florence, his endeavours to cultivate a good intelligence between the ſovereign pontiff and the queen of England, the marriage of his ſiſter with the duke of Bar, the erection of the hoſpital for ſick, and other buildings, the ſepulchre of our Lord, and the holy places, the ſatisfaction which he ſhewed at the victory gained over the calviniſts by the biſhop of Evreux, &c.

* D'Aubigné names ſome of thoſe proteſtants; he obſerves alſo, that

by a deſigned perplexity, flattered that religion which they already looked upon to be their king's.

THE leaders of the proteſtant party were not ſo eaſily brought to comply with the preſent exigency. They were often abſolutely untractable. It was in vain to remonſtrate to them, that by their obſtinacy the king would loſe the crown, and that ſince it was neceſſary it ſhould be poſſeſſed by a catholic prince, it was an advantage to them, that this prince was the ſame who had ſo long been affectionately united with them, and upon whoſe friendſhip they had all the reaſon imaginable to depend. They had flattered themſelves, that they ſhould ſee a prince of their own faith upon the throne, and that calviniſm ſhould be the eſtabliſhed religion in France. They thought it hard to be deprived of this advantage. Self-love in all religions makes ſuch a loſs be looked upon as irreparable †.

THE king experienced this exceſs of diſcontent, when ſome of the chief cities in the kingdom, that had been ſuffered to groan under the oppreſſion of an infinite number of little tyrants, firſt applied to his majeſty, and deputed the count of Belin to demand of him the freedom of commerce. Henry was either at Mante, or at Vernon, when the count of Belin came to make him this propoſition, which he would not receive but in the preſence of his whole council. There was not a proteſtant there, who appeared willing he ſhould grant it; and what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, it met with equal oppoſition from the catholics, without their being able to aſſign a lawful,

that the marchioneſs de Monceaux, the king's miſtreſs, acted the ſame part, in the hope of becoming queen herſelf, if Henry ſhould be declared king. Vol. III. book iii. chap. 22.

† "If I follow your advice," replied Henry IV. to a clergyman named la Faye, who addreſſed him in the name of the proteſtant party, "there will in a little time be neither a king or kingdom in "France. It is my deſire to give peace to all my ſubjects, and quiet "to my own ſoul; conſider among yourſelves what is moſt neceſſary "for your own ſecurity, you ſhall always find me ready to ſatisfy "you." Chron. Novenn. ibid.

or

or even a plauſible reaſon, for ſuch a conduct. All theſe perſons were perplexed in their debates, and perceived plainly that their opinion would ſignify nothing, yet could not prevail upon themſelves to alter it. The king looking at me that moment, "Monſieur de Roſny," ſaid he to me, "what "makes you ſo thoughtful? Will not you ſpeak "your Mind abſolutely no more than the others?" I took the word, and was not afraid to declare myſelf againſt all thoſe that had voted, by maintaining, that it was neceſſary not to heſitate a moment in compleating the gaining the people over to the king's intereſts, by an inſtance of kindneſs which he might revoke if they made a bad uſe of it. This advice raiſed a cry of diſapprobation, which I have always regarded as a retaliation for that conſent I had extorted from the council (which has been mentioned before.) The king was obliged to yield to their importunity, and the count of Belin returned without ſucceſs.

HENRY, reflecting upon this refuſal, and judging that there wanted but little more of the ſame nature to alienate the people's affection from him, without a poſſibility of regaining them, and to induce them to go over to the party of his enemies, he reſolved to defer his abjuration no longer. He was now convinced that there was no probability of his ſubduing the reluctance of ſeveral of the proteſtants, or of ever obtaining their free conſent to this proceeding*; but that it was neceſſary to act independently of them, and hazard ſome murmurs, which would end in nothing. As for the catholics of his party, the king endeavoured only to remove

* Henry IV. was always ſenſible, that his abjuration would expoſe him to great dangers, which made him write in this manner to mademoiſelle d'Eſtrees. "On Sunday I ſhall take a dangerous leap. "While I am writing to you, I have a hundred troubleſome people "about me, which makes me deteſt St. Denis as much as you do "Mante," &c. See the new edition of Henry the Great's letters.

their

their fears that, looking upon them as perſons of whom he was already ſecure, he would apply himſelf wholly to the gaining the reſt, by beſtowing all rewards upon them. He therefore at laſt declared publicly, that on the 20th of July he would perform his abjuration, and named the church of St. Denis for this ceremony.

THIS declaration threw the league into confuſion, and filled the hearts of the people, and the catholics of the royal party with joy. The proteſtants, although they had expected it, diſcovered their diſcontent by ſigns and low murmurs, and did for form's ſake all that ſuch a juncture required of them; but they did not go beyond the bounds of obedience. All the eccleſiaſtics, with Du-Perron, intoxicated with his triumph, at their head, flocked together; every one was deſirous of a ſhare in this work. Du-Perron, for whom I had obtained the biſhopric of Evreux, thought he could not ſhew his gratitude for it in a better manner, than by exerciſing his function of converter upon me. He accoſted me with the air of a conqueror, and propoſed to me to be preſent at a ceremony, where he flattered himſelf he ſhould ſhine with ſuch powers of reaſoning as would diſſipate the profoundeſt darkneſs. "Sir," replied I, "all I have to do by being preſent at your diſputes, "is to examine which ſide produces the ſtrongeſt "and moſt effectual arguments. The ſtate of af-"fairs, your number, and your riches, require that "yours ſhould prevail." In effect they did. There was a numerous court at St. Denis, and all was conducted with great pomp and ſplendor. I may be diſpenſed with dwelling upon the deſcription of this ceremony here, ſince the catholic hiſtorians* have been ſo prolix upon that ſubject.

* See, beſides the abovementioned hiſtorians, Mezerai, and the volume of MS. marked 8935, in the king's library, where may be found likewiſe the letter written to his holineſs by the king, the commiſſion given to M. Du-Perron, when he went to Rome to make a tender

I DID not imagine I could be of any uſe at this time; therefore kept myſelf retired as one who had no intereſt in the ſhew that was preparing, when I was viſited by Du-Perron, whom the cardinal of Bourbon had ſent to me, to decide a diſpute that had aroſe on occaſion of the terms in which the king's profeſſion of faith ſhould be conceived. The catholic prieſts and doctors loaded him with all the trifles their heads were filled with, and were going to make it a ridiculous, inſtead of a grave and ſolemn compoſition. The proteſtant miniſters, and the king himſelf diſapproved ‡ of the puerilities and trifles with which they had ſtuffed this inſtrument, and it occaſioned debates which had like to have thrown every thing again into confuſion.

I WENT immediately with Du-Perron to the cardinal of Bourbon, with whom it was agreed, that none of theſe articles of faith which were controverted by the two churches, ſhould be omitted, but that all the reſt ſhould be ſuppreſſed as uſeleſs. The parties approved of this regulation, and the * inſtrument was drawn up in ſuch a manner, that the king acknowledged there all the roman tenets upon the Holy Scripture, the church, the number and ceremonies of the ſacraments, the ſacrifice of the maſs, tranſubſtantiation, the doctrine of juſtification, the invocation of Saints, the worſhip of relics and images, purgatory, indulgences, and the

a tender of obedience to the pope, and the king's declaration of the motives on which he was converted, &c.

‡ "There is no neceſſity to mention a requiem," ſaid Henry IV. "I am not dead yet."

* See the original of it in the old Memoirs. Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, and Mezerai after him, reproached the king and the catholics, apparently without any cauſe, that this firſt inſtrument which they ſuppreſſed, was however the ſame that was ſent to the pope, as if the king had compoſed, written, and ſigned it with his own hand, but in reality counterfeited, by monſieur Lomenic. Theſe are his own words, book i. p. 198. book ii. p. 207.

ſupremacy

ſupremacy and power of the pope †. After which the ſatisfaction was general ‡.

† Another act of equal validity, by which Henry IV. acknowledges the pope's authority, is the declaration which he made after his converſion, that it was neceſſity and the confuſion of affairs that obliged him to receive abſolution from the prelates of France, rather than from thoſe of the holy father. This declaration is recorded in the third volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of State.

‡ It was Renaud, or Beaune de Samblancai, archbiſhop of Bourges, who received the king's abjuration; the cardinal of Bourbon, who was not a prieſt, and nine other biſhops, aſſiſted at the ceremony. Henry IV. entering the chapel of St. Denis, the archbiſhop ſaid to him, "Who are you?" Henry replied, "I am the king." "What "is your requeſt?" ſaid the archbiſhop. "To be received," ſaid the king, "into the pale of the catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church." "Do you deſire it?" added the prelate. "Yes, I do deſire it," replied the king. Then kneeling, ſaid, "I proteſt and ſwear, in the pre-"ſence of almighty God, to live and die in the catholic, apoſtolic, "and roman religion; to protect and defend it againſt all it's ene-"mies, at the hazard of my blood and life, renouncing all hereties "contrary to this catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church." He afterwards put this ſame confeſſion in writing, into the hands of the archbiſhop, who preſented him his ring to kiſs, giving him abſolution with a loud voice, during which *Te Deum* was ſung, &c. See a particular account of the ceremony in the hiſtorians. Cayet, book V. p. 222 and following. Matthieu, &c.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA